

THE ENGLISH HERITAGE

By the same author

A HISTORY OF WILTSHIRE
SCOTTISH HERITAGE
AND SO WAS ENGLAND BORN
(with A. J. W. Hill)
etc., etc.

In preparation

THE DOMESDAY INQUEST AND THE *L*₁



WINSFORD

"O pastoral heart of England—like a psalm

THE ENGLISH HERITAGE

by

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The original edition was dedicated

To the memory of
AMY ELEANOR JONES
and to
MATTHEW HALL
and
WILLIAM FURNESS
who taught a child

This edition is dedicated to

*The men and women of the Royal Air Force and Women's
Auxiliary Air Force who helped to preserve the English
Heritage, and more especially to the dead of those Squadrons
in which I had the honour to serve.*

PREFACE

THIS BOOK was originally planned for the tourist or holiday-maker, in the hope that as a companion it would add to his enjoyment of any district which he might visit, and would serve to explain in about as much detail as he required the significance of some aspects of the English countryside which, in an industrial or urban area, he does not commonly encounter. It is intended therefore to supplement the information afforded by a district guide-book or local history, each of which is too apt to state facts in a form of which the vagueness is only equalled by their lack of correlation to the remainder of their material, but it is not intended to replace them. The professional guide, too, well though he usually knows the history of his individual charge, displays a tendency to concentrate on this to the exclusion of its position in the development of England as a whole.

As an example of this: I have recently read through an otherwise admirable guide-book and noted over one hundred suggestions that in order to perform various excursions on foot the wayfarer should direct his course with reference to certain local archæological remains. This seems to me unexceptionable provided the reader knows a menhir or a squinch-hole or a Palladian mansion when he sees one, but I still feel that the pleasure of his day's outing would have been enhanced if he had known, not only what these landmarks are, but also how they came into being, their place in English history, and the reason for their present existence. The English heritage is so generous that to accept it blindly and unquestioningly seems rather a waste of opportunity.

I am afraid that the history for long taught in schools, or the admirable volumes of such authors as Messrs. H. V. Morton or S. P. B. Mais, are of little help to the man who is dependent on his guide-book. The failure of the first was exposed by the wide success of Messrs. Seller and Yeatman's *1066 and All That*: the class of travel-book of which Morton and Mais were the chief exponents does not pretend to provide

more than a colourful sketch of the history of a particular town or building. Few adults, I fancy, could help remembering that at school and elsewhere they encountered a people somewhat casually described as the 'Ancient Britons,' but I doubt if a high percentage would now be able to state the approximate era of their existence or mention any concrete legacy of their tenure of the country which survives to this day, or to explain why out of England's many inhabitants this race in particular should be styled the 'Ancient Britons.' The object of this book is to correlate the somewhat skeletal facts served up by an educational curriculum, which frankly admits it cannot devote to any subject one-tenth of the time it requires, with the heritage of a former age which at every moment intrudes into contemporary existence.

Such a volume is also intended to provide some of the material for which there is no room in a text-book, and about which the teacher has no time, but a strong desire, to talk to his classes. But it makes no pretence of completeness or of in any way resembling a scholarly monograph, for it is aimed at a public which requires and demands neither; since to trace the evolution of bishoprics or of the Lord High Chancellorship is outside its scope, and guide-books give architectural details, it does not aim at being exhaustive; it is written simply with a view to adding to the enjoyment of the average Englishman who travels on foot or mechanically in his own land.

Even in the most prosaic journeys the traveller who has his eyes open is inevitably conscious of the romance of his country's story, and perhaps modernisation of the outlook serves, by pointing a contrast, only to intensify this consciousness. Certainly, the open countryside is the place where this consciousness makes itself most manifest: leave the roads and steer a course over the fields and hills by compass, and in the day's journey one is inevitably brought into close contact with the Past. The shapeless grass-grown hillocks and ditches which break the level of a field may be the only memorial to men who died a thousand or many thousands of years ago; they may be the tree- or stone-crowned sepulchre of an early British race which never heard of the Romans; they may be a legion's camping-place on its first march north or west in England; they may have seen stern conflict between Saxon

and Dane. The half-hidden lane, known only to the farm-labourer and chance passer-by, the long stony track across the fell, trodden only by the gamekeeper and the shepherd, may have echoed the commands of a soldier who spoke the Latin tongue; the village nestling in the valley beneath the quiet slopes may have been a wilderness of weed and thicket until a Saxon ancestor of ours saw it from these same slopes and decided there to make a home for himself and the descendants who now sit at their doorsteps.

The Bath Road, almost the most famous of English motoring roads, runs with history touching it at every kerbstone. Brentford guarded the main crossing of the Thames; on Hounslow Heath the highwayman stopped the coaches and the fearful solitary traveller; we are in sight of the towers of the Royal citadel of Windsor and of the tongue of land to which the Viking vessels sailed up the Thames to its union with the Kennet. Cavalier and Roundhead fought within shouting distance of Newbury streets; a great castle frowned down upon the market-place of Marlborough and a mediæval huddle of houses; the mystery of the stone circles of Avebury and of Silbury mound still remains largely unsolved. Amid the advertisements of concerts and charabanc trips which confront the stranger to Bath, we must indeed be dull if we cannot recognise in that entrant to the Pump Room H. V. Morton's Marcus Rheumaticus, ordered there by his doctor to repair the ravages of the Falernian with which he has tried to combat the raw cold of Britain, or in that hesitating shopper a character who has walked straight out of the pages of Jane Austen.

What I wrote in another place may well be recorded here, for it is true of all England.

'Beside North Watling Street, a dozen miles out of Chester, there is a hill. Lie on that hill in sight of the road, with the red-brick houses of the little town of Kelsall beneath you to remind you that this is the twentieth century, and with the hours will come history. Beside you graze the descendants of the sheep the Celts guarded two thousand years ago. Footsteps ring out from the dusty white ribbon in the valley; the legions are on the march, and, as you listen, sword clangs on shield. Hard by, the ramparts and ditches of

Eddisbury are as much a trial to the wanderer to-day as ever they were to the Saxon's foes, and from the woods of Delamere comes the cry of hounds where Hugh Lupus and his household hunt the boar within their darknesses. That stream runs red, as it has done a hundred times, red with the blood shed in rose-strewn civil war; the yews' cousins went overseas in the form of bows and saw the French chivalry broken at Crécy and Poitiers. Along the road passes the pageantry of Elizabeth and her Court; King Charles and the last of the Cavaliers; Georgian bucks and belles in all their brave panoply; till at last, as your eyes grow tired, a motor-bus coughs its way over the crest and sways in the direction of Stockport and modernity. And yet nothing has really changed. There is a gipsy caravan beside the hedge, just as it stood when the first of the wanderers reached Cheshire, and past it ride the huntsmen. It is the fox, not the boar, they seek, but that is all the difference. Along a country lane the parish priest is going his rounds. He rides a motor-bicycle instead of a mule, but he is none the less the heir of his ancestors. Beneath you lies the village. It has not changed so very much since the Middle Ages; the laughter of Samkin Aylward and Hordle John floats out of the inn parlour to greet you, a travelling pedlar exhibits his wares at the door, and a jongleur on the green is offering the latest lays. Strange customers come to the inn, as strange to the villagers as ever they seemed to their ancestors seven hundred years ago: seafaring men, and dwellers beneath the ground, and ever and again a negro or a Chinese.'

To the professional, as to the amateur historian, I have to offer a qualified apology. To the former I would say that I am fully conscious of having indulged in judgments and generalisations with which the scholar will not altogether agree; but it is not for him that I am writing, and I have been forced, to avoid lengthy and uninteresting exposition, to indicate rather than to discuss modern theories of such questions as the succession of pre-Roman peoples and the Reformation of the Church. To the latter I would like to point out that I have sometimes found it impossible to avoid the

introduction of a certain amount of 'text-book' as distinct from 'popular' history, but this I have compressed to its minimum bulk and have tried to include it only where I feel it is impossible for the amateur to understand a period's legacy without some reference to the constituent history. I have also to point out that with the end of the Middle Ages the character of such a book is bound to change; it must inevitably become less archæological and more historical. I must, too, request indulgence for a quantity of obvious omissions, made solely because inclusion of such points would materially add to the length of the book. In any case, a fairly busy life has made its compilation a matter of months instead of years.

But I offer no apology for carrying my story no further than the inception of the Industrial Revolution. Already, with the struggle between the Crown and Parliament, the story of England is becoming too intricate to warrant compression into an exiguous chapter or two, and brings into force features which, if they are to be dealt with at all, require a volume apiece. When the first train runs from Stockton to Darlington and the first street of 'back-to-back' houses makes its appearance, Modern England has arrived, and, while its legacy is perhaps more noticeably all about us than that which I have here described, it is too recent and too widespread a bequest here to be summarised. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the smoke of the factories begins to blind us and the clang of the mills to deafen us to what comes before; when the fog clears away and the clamour dies down somewhat, we can see what remains, but only with difficulty what is coming.

Finally, the title of this book is '*The English Heritage*.' With regret I have had to touch only lightly on the remainder of the British Isles, principally because of the preponderance of the Celtic legacy in Wales, Ireland, and much of Scotland; in no small measure because space is limited, and it would be altogether unfair to offer these countries the discourtesy of occasional paragraphs.

R. W. F.

Tewin Wood, *November*, 1936.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

I HAVE used the opportunity of the issue of a new edition to correct various errors and misprints appearing in the original version, and have with some regret deleted the bibliographies it contained. I feel, however, that to retain them would be productive of trouble; first because I have, while on active service, inevitably overlooked the publication of specialised books which should be included therein, and secondly, because so many of those there listed are now unprocurable, except in libraries. As a substitute, I have provided a short list of more general works.

Since this book was first published, I have tried, in 'Scottish Heritage' (itself out of print at the time of writing this, with the result that I have occasionally here reproduced passages it contained), to repair one omission referred to at the close of the original preface. I have also incorporated certain extracts from the portion of 'And So Was England Born' for which I was responsible. Despite, however, kindly but voluminous encouragement, I still—and I think rightly so—have not carried the detailed story beyond the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. To do so would disturb what I feel to be the correct proportion, and in any case I feel incapable of considering the modern period of which I have made no special study. Moreover, there already exist many books which perform the task far better than I could hope to do.

Since this book first appeared in 1937, a generation for which I can hardly be said to have then been writing has made journeys and become familiar with scenes which, to most, must once have seemed unlikely to come within their experience. From what a number of these have told me while we shared temporary exile from home, a book which turns their mind to the land of their birth and childhood will not be unwelcome.

It seems, too, as if for some time the average Englishman's journeyings will be confined to the limits of his own country. If these are in any way made more illuminating and intelligible

by what I have here provided, I shall have achieved my object.

Finally, I would thank all those who, after reading the original edition, wrote to me in such fashion as made the labour of its construction something to look back upon with infinite pleasure. I have tried to answer all letters received, and look forward to receiving more.

R. W. F.

Frinton-on-Sea, *January*, 1948.

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THE ENGLISH HERITAGE

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

“Trackway and Camp and City lost,
Salt Marsh where now is corn;
Old Wars, old Peace, old Arts that cease,
And so was England born!

She is not any common Earth,
Water or wood or air,
But Merlin's Isle of Gramarye,
Where you and I will fare.”

RUDYARD KIPLING: *Puck's Song*.

THE READER who dislikes the idea of having to spend some time on that most fascinating of subjects, the ‘geography behind history,’ is recommended to skip the intervening pages, and proceed immediately to Chapter I. It is to be hoped, however, that he will not do so, for it is difficult to follow the history of England without a clear understanding of the physical features which have been the cause of so many events and which, within limits, have determined the course of that history. To an inhabitant of Europe in the days long before the Americas were discovered or the sea-route to the East found, the British Isles were the limit of the known world, beyond which there were only ocean and unknown mysteries. Her most southerly and westerly point was the Land's End; Britain itself was *Ultima Thule*, the end of the world.

Yet she was within easy reach of the Continent, for the English Channel separates her from France only by about twenty miles at the narrowest point, and to the east she is distant only some hundred miles from the Netherlands, under four hundred from North Germany, and the same from Norway and Sweden. So, although she consists of a group of islands, she was not so much detached from the Continent, to which she had once been joined, as to be protected by any

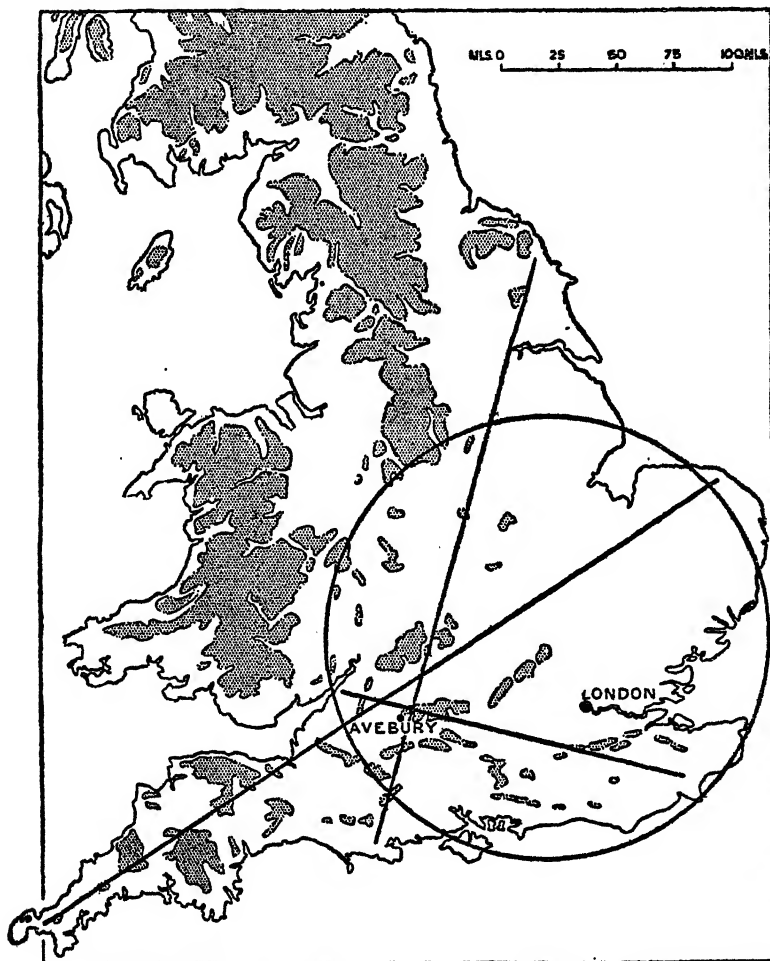
insuperable barrier from the westward movement of peoples which persists all through history.

A glance at the physical map will assure us of one thing, that if Britain's characteristics had been reversed, her history would have been entirely different, for the pioneer would have been confronted with forbidding cliffs and mountains, rising almost from the water's edge, which would have discouraged penetration and settlement. Britain is composed of two zones, Highland and Lowland, the first of which is roughly west of the Severn and Somerset-Devon border and about and beyond the Pennines, and the Highland Zone is both furthest from the continent of Europe and 'protective' of the Lowland Zone, for it offers few approaches to these fertile regions.

Britain, indeed, attracts the primitive immigrant. The view obtained from the seas to the south and east suggests a plenitude of good agricultural land; such hills as are visible are neither alarming nor steep; there is the certainty of isolation from the disturbed Continent. Save for occasional isolated occurrences of chalk cliffs and marsh in her south coast, there are few obstacles to an easy landing on her shores.

Equally the immigrant finds it possible, even easy, to penetrate the hinterland. Even in the earliest periods under discussion, when swamp and marsh made progress difficult along the river valleys—broad and shallow because their streams flowed not from lofty mountains but from low hills—and while forest unassailable by stone tools opposed a barrier to progress, there yet remained potential lines of communication from almost every landing-place between Tees and Exe. The length and breadth of the Lowland Zone could be traversed along the dry treeless downs which, with their focus in the centre of Salisbury Plain, radiated in every direction and joined coast to coast. From the Dover Strait and the Channel to the Severn estuary, the downs, from the line of the North and South Downs to the Mendips and the Cotswolds, run almost unbroken. From the Portland beaches and the southern creeks they continue north and north-east; along the line of the Chilterns to the estuaries of the east coast and the Norfolk uplands; by way of the Cotswolds and central midland wolds to the Lincolnshire heights and the moors of

the Yorkshire coast; to the southern terminals of the Pennines. Elsewhere the lines continue until they merge into the wilderness of the Highland Zone. Primitive prospectors could report that any isolation of existence on the part of the future inhabitants would be of their own making; for the downs made



PHYSICAL ENGLAND

Land over 600 ft. has been shaded. The map shows (a) the situation of Avebury as described on p. 62, near the interception of lines roughly indicating the main directions of possibility of movement along the dry treeless downs, and (b) of London, as near the centre of a circle, including most of the English lowlands (p. 24).

possible the ease of communication which advanced the economic prosperity of the settlers.

To the voyager from the south—and most migrant people took advantage of the narrow strait between England and France—she at once opposed a barrier. We must think of the country, until the most recent period of her history, as being much more generously forested and far wetter than it is now; the forests impenetrable by a large force of men until a way had been cleared for them, and the river valleys and lowland plains more marshy and impassable than they are to-day. Romney Marsh and the Weald or Forest¹ of Sussex and Kent, backed by the North Downs, provide this initial barrier, the only gaps on the way to the Thames estuary being those provided by the coastal plain through Canterbury and Rochester, which necessitates crossing the rivers Stour and Medway near their mouths and by the passes of the Wey and Mole valleys, for long undrained and swampy.

When, with the improvement in tools and technique, with the clearing of the forests and draining of the marshes, settlement became a matter of the valleys and lowlands rather than of downland, the favourable arrangement of the Lowland Zone was apparent. First, there was a huge and almost unbroken circle of agricultural lowland, whose virtual centre was roughly the limit of the tidal waters of the Thames, which gave on to what was to become the coasts of Germany or France. Secondly, the physical structure of the country was such that all obvious routes, from the northern and eastern seaboard, from the shores of the Irish Sea, from the coasts which were to be the landfall for either the Atlantic or cross-Channel voyages, concentrated and met at this virtual centre of the Lowland circle, where later is to be the city and port of London. It is, moreover, hardly too much to say that concentration in and on the circle on the map on p. 23 was intensified by the fact that its north-western gap was largely blocked by forest and marsh. One might indeed almost draw the frontier of the Lowland Zone as a line joining Exe and Tees.

Britain, moreover, is rich in the material advantages which alone make a country worth colonisation and exploitation.

¹ But a 'forest' is not necessarily wooded country (see p. 181).

About eighty per cent. of the whole land is now classed as 'suitable for farming,' which suggests that, even allowing for vast stretches of uncleared land, there was enough and to spare for the earliest agricultural populations. There is ample pasturage for cattle and sheep: even nowadays there are in Britain half as many sheep as there are people. The seas which surround the island swarm with fish. She possesses, moreover, great mineral wealth, which has ever been important and which in modern times has become the indispensable basis of the life of the nation. And, from the point of view of commerce, no place in England is much more than fifty miles from the tidal waters which see the meeting of imports and exports. It was, as much as anything else, the example of previous inhabitants, their manifest prosperity and advantages, which encouraged the constant stream of conquerors and immigrants which persists all through her history.

Still, settlement and exploitation would be impossible if she possessed a climate militant against human activity. From the economic point of view, the climate has improved. In the days of megalithic man it would seem to have been warm and dry: an admirable state of affairs for a pastoral downland people. About the time of the Celtic immigrants it had changed to an approximation to modern conditions; that is, it was mainly moist and cool and comparatively sunless, yet sunny enough for the crops to ripen. To-day there are no extremes of temperature to influence and restrict physical activity, no constantly repetitive drought or torrential rain which alike handicap agriculture and stock-rearing.

But the climate is not uniform over the whole island. Physical features influence climate, and climate intensifies the relative importance of the Highland and Lowland Zones. Westerly winds accumulate moisture in their passage across the Atlantic, depositing this on the Highland Zone because its cold lofty mountains are the first factor encountered in the landward passage and encourage the condensation of wind-borne damp; by the time they reach the Lowland Zone the winds have shed much of their moisture, so that there the climate is drier than that of the Highland Zone, especially as the easterly winds passing first over the Lowland Zone have traversed thousands of miles of cold plains, and on their

arrival in Britain are dry and cool. So, from the natural differences in rainfall and temperature (for physical height implies decreased temperature) the Lowland Zone will acquire a population more concentrated and more expert than that of the Highland Zone; the more so because, from the nature of things, the physical conditions of the Highland Zone will promote pastoralism rather than agriculture and industry, whereas in the Lowland Zone the reverse will be the case. This point, too, deserves mention. The soil of the Highland Zone does not repay careful human attention; it lies so close to the barren rock as to be almost incapable of improvement. That of the Lowland Zone, on the other hand, which has to be acquired by clearing the forests and draining the marsh which masks it, demands constant attention and improvement if anything approaching maximum fertility is to be attained. The effect of this on the character of the several districts' early inhabitants is obvious.

So soon as it is possible to occupy generally the lower levels (that is to say, when the forest gives place to the field), incomers, not unaware of their future home's character, will concentrate on possession of the Lowland Zone, whose previous inhabitants, driven out by the newcomers, will take refuge in the Highland Zone. The comparative infertility of the latter will ensure that the superiority of the more recent immigrants will not only endure, but that with the passing of time it will be intensified also. Highland and Lowland Zones in fact will for long be antagonistic; out of this hostility, as well as out of natural racial antipathies, will spring the everlasting feud between Saxon and Celt, the long and more or less hopeless struggle to produce a United Kingdom, the lack of sympathy between rural dwellers and townsmen,¹ the reflection of Englishmen towards the continental East rather than inspection of the unknown West. The movement of peoples is dictated by physical factors; so for a space we must return to a consideration of the obstacles and natural routes provided. To the early traveller the line of the Thames interposes a

¹ Communication is obviously a matter of considerable difficulty in the Highland Zone; ideas will not rapidly penetrate therein, and it will remain backward and unsophisticated in comparison with the Lowland Zone. The 'heathen' is the 'dweller on the heath,' untouched by the modern conceptions which quickly permeate the Lowlands.

definite boundary, the estuary too broad to be bridged below Southwark, but fordable at Brentford; and then, by reason of marsh and swamp, impassable between there and Windsor. To the west the Downs of Hampshire, Berkshire and Wiltshire cut off the fens and pastures of Somerset, broken only by the line of the Kennet valley or by a route running down the Test and up the Salisbury Avon or Stour; otherwise the Severn estuary can be reached only along the line of the Thames and down the valley of the Bristol Avon. Northwards from London the Chilterns bar the way to the midlands, and the Forest of Epping and the Essex marshes that to the eastern counties.

Pairs of rivers, running south-west and north-east, rising on opposite sides of the same small watershed, present successive midland frontiers. Actually to describe these as frontiers and to admit their value as barriers is no longer usual, but even within a few miles of its source a river may present a quite considerable obstacle, for bridges do not occur every few hundred yards, and it takes time to move an army and its supply-waggons over a single narrow bridge. The first is that of the Warwickshire Avon and of the Welland or the Nen; the second that of the Trent and the Tern, running into the southward-turning Severn. Beyond the line of the Severn¹ rise the Welsh mountains, running the whole length of the country; north of the Trent the great mass of the Pennine range, occupying half the breadth of the country, forces the traveller from the south either to proceed through the Cheshire and Lancashire plain and over the fells joining the Lakeland hills to the Pennines, or along the Vale of York and then by way of the coastal plain of Durham and Northumberland. Two hundred miles from the Trent the Cheviot Hills fling a fresh barrier across England, almost from sea to sea, at an angle to the Pennines; and that, not unnaturally, forms the Scottish Border.

These physical features have determined all English history. There are five main focal points, besides scores of minor ones, and the western cities are the least important because civilisation comes from the east and because beyond the western

¹ But the Severn is not in itself a barrier, it is too easily forded and bridged, and there is much good farming land between the river and the Welsh highlands.

border of the Severn and Salisbury Plain lie the inhospitable rainy mountains of Wales and the barren moors of Devon and Cornwall. These five focal points are Canterbury, London, York, Winchester, and Chester, of which each of the first four has at one time or another been England's capital. Of these the best situated is London; a port within easy reach of France, the Netherlands, and Germany; protected on every side from assault (before the advent of aircraft), and not so far distant from the centre of the circle embracing the fertile lowlands of England which is indicated on the map on p. 23. This map will explain the facts more vividly than the above, and a knowledge of the principal features of the map of England will explain more fully what is to follow.

Twice more will the focus shift. The machines which require water and steam power, the industries which require the proximity of mineral wealth, will attract the Lowlander to the industrial North and the Highlander to the cities of the plain, which for the first time can support a population surplus to the needs of agriculture. England's axis will become the line from Severn to Tyne which lies just inside the division between Highland and Lowlands, and what Lancashire thinks to-day, England will think to-morrow. It will swing back to the Lowland Circle when the development of electrical power brings both industry and industrial personnel south, when an economic crisis and a decline in exports relegate vast patches of the nineteenth-century axis to the status of 'derelict areas.'

Anybody who has even a slight acquaintance with English history will recall how frequently the same place-names recur. This is because, first, geographical considerations govern historical fact to so great an extent, and secondly, because until the end of the fifteenth century the whole or sections of the peoples of England were almost continuously engaged in some kind of civil or internal warfare. Most of the English towns which are not of modern growth are the result, not of accident, but of topographical features; this town guards the only way from west to east which does not involve the difficult task of traversing broken hill country or marsh or a deep swift stream, and that, from its position commanding the junction of roads whose course has been determined by physical considerations, is much older than

its larger neighbour which lies above the coal measures. When we go to Bath to drink the waters, or to Chester to gaze on the Past, or to London as *the* 'town,' we are simply following in the footsteps of History, and our course was predetermined for us by the topography of England.

CHAPTER I

THE CELTIC AND PRE-CELTIC LEGACY

“ Grey recumbent tombs of the dead in desert places,
Standing stones on the vacant wine-red moor,
Hills of sheep, and the howes of the silent vanished races,
And winds, austere and pure.”

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON: *To S. R. Crockett.*

NO ONE has yet discovered a satisfactory starting place for English history. The landing of Julius Cæsar, or the Norman Conquest, are both fairly obviously too late, but we still have so little accurate knowledge about the time we term pre-history, the days when there were no written records of Man, that it is difficult to find a point which is better than that of the appearance of Man on the earth, and since we are obliged to say that this may be at either end of or anywhere inside a period covering many thousand years, we are more or less forced to select an arbitrary date. As good a way out of the difficulty as any would seem to be to neglect the days of the extinct beasts and reptiles like the dinosaur and the pterodactyl and those of the earliest types of Man who lived in this country, and to begin with what are commonly styled the Celts, on the grounds that of them we have some contemporary written evidence. But, since we continually meet them and their works in museums and guide-books and history books, we must just touch on the predecessors of the Celts, for we have inherited something from them. Before ever Britain was an island, men of the Old Stone Age,¹ savages inhabiting caves, chiefly in the less rugged south-east and south-west, using implements made of flint or stone, hunting and being hunted by beasts such as the hyena and the wolf, occupied the country. They died out, but their tools and their bones and those of their animal enemies remained for us to find, washed where the receding waters left

¹ The division following is so well established that it is difficult to avoid it, but an alternative system would be Palaeolithic, Megalithic I (2000-1400 B.C.), Megalithic II (1400-1000 B.C.), Celtic (1000 B.C.), treating all the erectors of stone enormities as 'megalithic.'

them, or preserved beneath a coating of deposit from lime-impregnated water. Kent's Cavern, near Torquay in Devon, and Wookey Hole, near Wells in Somerset, among hundreds of other places, have yielded up visible relics of men who lived before the Ice Ages separated England from Europe.

A new race, the New Stone Men, crossed the Channel and occupied Britain; short, dark, long-headed men, whose descendants may survive in South Wales to-day, for the physiognomy of the South Welsh corresponds to that of the New Stone Men as indicated by the skulls of the latter. They, too, were flint-workers, using flints to make arrow- and spear-heads, hammers, axes, and scrapers; and not only could they polish the flint but put an edge to it as well, and a handle if need be. Flints they mined from the earth by sinking shafts and cutting galleries from the shafts; the reindeer still roamed Britain, and its antlers made excellent picks. It is little enough we know of what we commonly call Neolithic Man, the man of the New Stone Age, though it is perhaps better if we think of him not as Neolithic but as Megalithic Man, the designer and builder of the mighty monuments in stone which mark the chief centres of his occupation, possibly the first of the men of Britain to breed and care for flocks and herds. There is little more that we can say beyond the rough outline that an early race of workers in stone is succeeded by one capable of manufacturing and using bronze tools, appreciative of the uses of gold and lead, practising the art of crop-cultivation as well as pastoral agriculture, weavers of cloth and so no longer skin-clothed only, decorating their pottery and vessels with angular patterns, and that to a race of users of bronze succeeds one of users of iron.

The above rough division is sufficiently adequate, but the history of England before the birth of Christ is so difficult to reconstruct that only the vaguest framework can be offered. It would be pleasant if we could say that the Celt immediately succeeds the man of the New Stone Age, but such an hypothesis cannot be proved. Where exactly in this scheme the Celt arrives it is almost impossible to say, but, as was suggested above, it is with the Celt that we must begin. First we shall have to deal with him, and return to the material legacies of his predecessors and of himself at a more appropriate point.

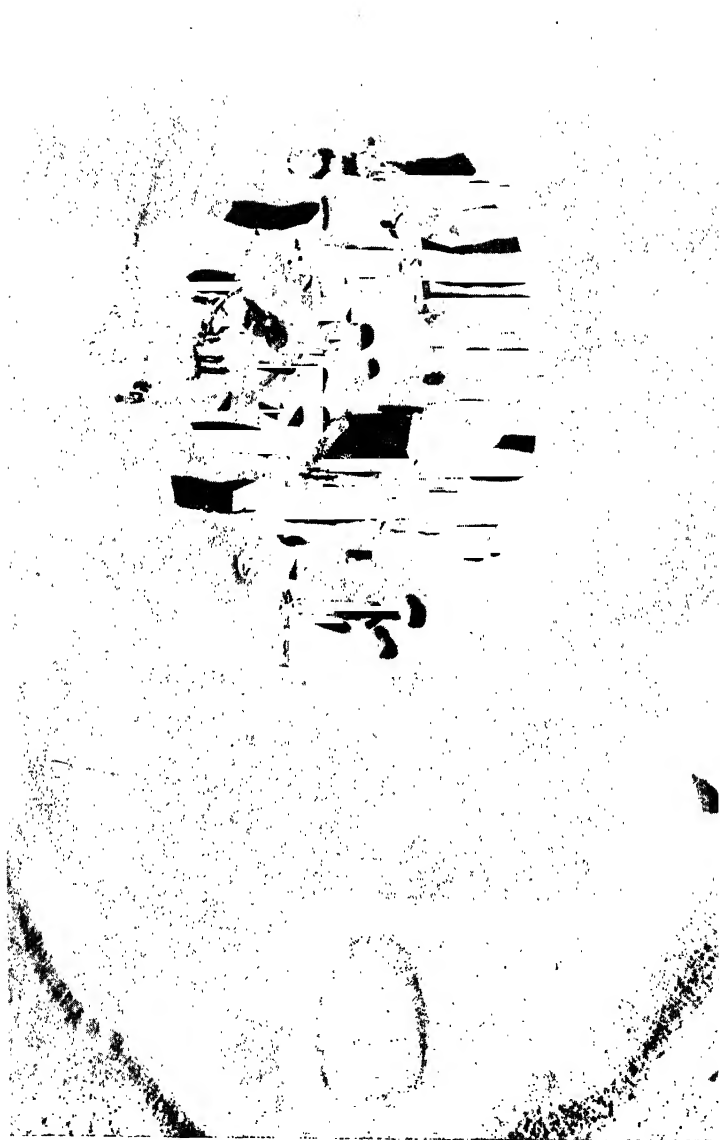
But, in what follows, the term 'Celtic' must not be interpreted too literally, for Neolithic Man and his successors cannot altogether be separated; they married and inter-bred.

By about 600 B.C. the Celt, gradually travelling southwards or westwards through Europe from northern lands or from central Asia, has arrived in Britain; by about 450 B.C. he has occupied the whole of the British Isles. It is perhaps necessary to record the fact that the term 'Celt' is often too loosely used. The 'true Celt' of early days is tall, fair-haired and grey-eyed; ancient writers never applied the term 'Celt' to a race which did not possess these physical characteristics. Yet many peoples to-day commonly styled 'Celtic' obviously do not possess these attributes, but are small and dark-haired, like many of the Welsh people. They are indeed, like the 'true Celt,' members of the great Indo-European family of the human race, but they differ from the common conception of the Celt, and probably their journeying into Britain was from central and southern Europe by way of the Atlantic route to its western shores. The direction of the movement of the fair-haired Celtic peoples suggests that they crossed the sea from Europe between Humber and Solent: it is more than doubtful if any, reaching Spain from the north or east of Europe, would thence attempt the long sea passage to Ireland. Very roughly we may divide them into three groups: the Goidels who came from the west of what is now France, and ultimately became the Gaelic peoples of Ireland and of north and west Scotland and the Manx of the Isle of Man; the true Celts, who came from central and eastern Gaul and occupied the midlands and western part of England, and the Belgæ, who settled in the south-east part of England, more or less south of the Thames and east of the Bristol and Salisbury Avons, and whose previous home was North France and Belgium. For the moment all we want to know about them is that after conquering the previous inhabitants of England, probably killing off the great majority, but enslaving some and driving others to the remoter parts of the island, not so many years after the Crucifixion the Romans in their turn succeeded in conquering them. At one time it was the fashion to call them the Ancient Britons, apparently because they lived a long time ago and in Britain, like many other races.



STONEHENGE

"Noblest monument of Albion's isle" (p. 61.)



Where can we find the Celt to-day? Many of the people of Wales are Celts, so are the inhabitants of Ireland and of the west and north of Scotland, but the average Englishman of to-day is the product of so many different races that it is difficult to select the people of a single district and say they belong to one race only. England has so often been conquered and the conquerors have intermarried with their predecessors to such an extent that most Englishmen are of a mixed type—they may come of any or all of Neolithic, Celtic, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian or Norman-French stocks. But mostly we find the man with the largest proportion of Celtic blood in him where the Anglo-Saxons drove him to take refuge from their onslaught: in the south-western peninsula of Cornwall and Devon, in the inaccessible mountainous country of Wales, in Ireland and the remote and rocky portions of Scotland to which the Saxons never penetrated. A Celtic type also survives in the recesses of the Chilterns, which the Romans found difficult to settle, and there is a tradition that for over a thousand years a pure Celtic people maintained an existence in the still undrained Fens. To the Saxons the Celt was the *wealh*,¹ the stranger or slave, and from that term comes our modern word for the most purely Celtic survival among peoples, the Welsh. The Celt, we said, is to many tall and fair-haired, but we have also the 'small, dark man' of a hundred romances. The 'small, dark man,' the 'old black breed' of certain writers, often reproduced in the Highland crofter of to-day, seems at times rather Neolithic than Celtic, and so perhaps he is, a survival through conquest and slavery by way of marriage and concubinage. He certainly seems to reproduce the characteristics of both races; as a Celt he is not over-fond of work; yet equally he fills the ranks of the working classes of the towns, where the operatives of the mills and factories are largely a dark-haired, dark-eyed, small-bodied people; thrifty, skilled with their hands, capable of enduring the most monotonous toil, and delighted with the gregarious sociable mass-production life of urban centres. He suggests in fact the descendant of the men who inhabited the contemporary densely-populated hill

¹ But there is also an Old English word *wealh* which means wall, or weald (forest); the numerous Waltons in England may therefore be 'towns in the forest,' not 'towns of the Welsh.'

forts and thronged the stupendous temples and meeting-places of megalithic days.

We are inclined to think, from their geographical situation, of certain peoples as Celts who are nothing of the kind. There is a type to be found among the peasantry of Hampshire, Berkshire, Somerset and Dorset which seems Celtic but is really a survival from an earlier race inhabiting England, and in many ways totally different from the Celts: long-boned men with clear-cut features and aquiline noses, rather on the taciturn and slow-spoken side, expert in their dealings with livestock and so good farmers, which is not a common characteristic of the Celts. We are apt to think of Cornwall as chiefly inhabited by descendants of the Celts; it is true that there are many small dark men, speaking a strange un-English tongue and Celtic in temperament. But Cornwall was the home of England's first great export industry, the tin trade, and in the years before the birth of Christ merchants and their crews came there from all the seaports of the Mediterranean, from Marseilles and the Adriatic, from Phoenicia at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and the North African trading centres: some of these surely married and settled in England, and so we find in Cornwall descendants of Asiatic and African peoples—men and women with a Semitic or African or Italian cast of countenance and a temperament altogether foreign to that we find elsewhere in the island.

Now the Celt, or what we call the Celt, has certain very marked characteristics, in addition to those which have been thrust upon him by these creators of the Irishman of the stage and the picture-postcard who have never set foot in a Celtic country. The Welshman is a Celt, the Irish peasant is a Celt, and the Highlander is a Celt, subject to the provisions of previous paragraphs, but nobody of ordinary intelligence would ever mistake an English-speaking Welshman for a Highlander. But every member of a Celtic race shares certain racial characteristics in common. He is hot-tempered, but his temper is recovered as quickly as it is lost. He is accordingly a dangerous fighter, and he fights with a blind recklessness and ruthlessness which makes him the best of all shock troops, but less useful in rearguard actions or trench warfare, the more so because he is not particularly adaptable. He is extravagant

in thought and language, a born story-teller, and an expert at improving a story where the bare outline of truth seems to him to leave the result lacking in colour.¹ He is intensely patriotic, passionately devoted to his native land and its customs, and prizing loyalty above material advantage. It is altogether in keeping with the above characteristics that he should be not only a lover of poetry but a keen musician as well. So also it is that he should be possessed of a melancholic habit which causes him, often apparently unreasonably, to pass with extreme rapidity from wild exaltation and exuberance to the depths of despair and misery, and to acquire a sense of fatalism. He is lazy or leisurely, slovenly or an unmethodical dreamer, according to the way in which you happen to regard him; he is compact of what to one man seems charm, to another insincerity. Certainly he is possessed of a devil of pride, and let no one laugh at him because his pride is so often in humble things and what are matters of small account to an earnest materialist. His pride is not only in race and relics of the past but also in the elemental virtues of loyalty and hospitality and courtesy. The normal existence of the Celt for so many years, harried and persecuted by his neighbours, the slave and target of more modern conquerors, has perhaps made him apt to indulge in petty meannesses and shifts and tricks, craft and guile being essential weapons in the armoury of the subject against the dominant race.

All these characteristics are reflected in his modern descendant, and too often they provoke the insult of being regarded as anachronistic. Rarely has he known peace, nor will his hot blood let him know peace, and his fighting qualities are as the result of constant use unimpaired. Economic necessity, the unproductiveness of his mountain home, has made his life a thing not of self-support but of raids on the cattle and homesteads not only of his racial brethren but of his more civilised and so less warlike neighbours of the plains. It is this intensity of feeling, this inability to compromise, this dislike of drab quietude, which cause him to exaggerate the natural proportions of things, to be discontented with plain nominatives

¹ He is often accused not only of untruthfulness but of low moral standards, supposedly illustrated by his high illegitimate birthrate. But his moral code is often the mere consequence of economic necessity; his struggle to extract a living from the soil is so intense that he must be able to depend on children to assist him in his work; accordingly pre-nuptial congress to test fertility is not uncommon.

and to decorate them with adjectival wealth, to elevate the events of the humdrum day to the stature of an epic, to live the day again in the recital of its incidents, and to embroider those incidents with picturesque if not strictly accurate garnishings. As one driven from his former home, he has never ceased to regret its lost glories, and at the same time, especially in exile, to suffer all the pangs of home-sickness, while prizing the land of his birth and upbringing above all others. The comparative backwardness inevitable in the case of peoples expelled from the districts through which the main currents of civilisation run, so that memory has to serve in place of written records and the recital of stories, and the art of reading as a recreation for leisure, has fostered, in company with admiration for things of the spirit rather than practical gain, the gift for poetry and the love of music which are so characteristic of Celtic peoples. Temperament may be largely a matter of climate and mode of life; the cold, rain and mist of the mountains and the western seas may induce a melancholic frame of mind, as undernourishment or excesses after battle and triumph may produce extremes of spirit. Temperament, again, more appreciative of delight of battle and feasting than of solid monotonous agricultural toil, allied to the habit of the conquered of living in the past and dreaming of former glories, is apt to produce a fatalistic leisureliness which too often results in casual habits and a feeling that the imperfect end does not justify the laborious means. The Celt, in his comparatively undeveloped state, having in him much of the lack of sophistication of childhood, possesses feelings which can only too easily be hurt. Pride is his special characteristic; pride in his ancestry, pride in his integrity, pride in his superiority of breeding. His loyalty is the loyalty of tradition, deep-rooted in the past, a loyalty dependent on custom and not on the likelihood of profit. His conception of hospitality is the offering of the best of which he is capable and not of competition with his richer or poorer neighbours; a hospitality which demands the entertainment not only of friends but also of strangers or even of an hereditary enemy who may claim it. And the history of his relations with his neighbours and with strangers in the mass is none the less a history of fraud and treacheries and tactics.

Of the language the pre-Roman Celts spoke we know little,

partly because at that time hardly anything was recorded in writing. Celtic tongues to some extent remain with us to-day; Welsh, for example, and the Gaelic spoken in parts of Ireland and of Scotland; the manner of Brythonic speech, with its hurried sing-song metre and rising inflection at the end of the sentence, survives in those west midland counties, from Gloucestershire to Cheshire, which form the Welsh border and where the Welsh Celtic influence has never been eradicated. There are still a good many of the inhabitants of Wales who can speak no other language but Welsh, and at least in Scotland a rapidly decreasing number who have only the Gaelic, unable to make themselves understood in English, or to understand it. The Celtic languages are nearer the Latin tongue (and so the languages primarily derived from Latin, like French or Italian) than that of the Saxons, and of this we find an example in another haunt of the Celt, Devonshire. (But Devonshire contains fewer Celtic place-names than one would expect; probably it was so thinly populated, because of its wildness, that the settlements were few and real occupation did not come till late Saxon days.) Everybody has heard a Devonshire farmer pronounce "to" *tũ*, almost as it is pronounced in the French *tu* = thou, and this piece of dialect is a pure Celtic survival. At least we know that there were three Celtic tongues; of the Gaul, of the Goidel (which has produced Erse, Gaelic and Manx), and of the Brython, giving rise to Welsh, Cornish, and Breton. The Brythonic language, when it adapts words from another speech, is said to change 'q' to 'p', or a hard initial to an explosive. The Latin for 'four' is *quatuor*, which in Erse appears as *cethir*, but in Welsh becomes *petquar*. Similarly the Latin for a horse is *equus*, the Erse *ech*, and the Welsh *ebol*. There is one linguistic legacy which is quite inexplicable: in Northumberland, which was never a Celtic stronghold, and very early conquered by the Angles, in Cumberland, Westmorland and North Yorkshire, the shepherds use certain rhymes of which the apparently meaningless words have no obvious origin. Nowhere else do we find shepherds counting their sheep, in every case referring to a score, in such terms as *yan* (one), *tyan* (two), *tethera* (three), *nethera* (four), *pimp* (five), *dick* (ten), *bumfit* (fifteen), *giggot* (twenty). Some of such curious survivals may even be pre-Celtic.

The Celts were so often and so thoroughly conquered that their influence on our present language was bound to be small. The number of Celtic words used in modern colloquial English (apart from words borrowed from the Gaelic, which must be counted a living tongue, like *brogue* or *bog* or *shamrock*) is very few. At the most, the survival is under a dozen words: some of these may be Celtic alone in origin—*bin*, *dun* (the colour), *combe* (a narrow valley bordered by steep hill-slopes), *down* (for a hill), *basket* and *rasher*. But some of the English Celts of the south-west fled, when attacked, to Brittany, joining their racial brethren—it is said that the Cornish and Breton fisherman can understand each other's speech where other Englishmen and Frenchmen can understand neither¹—and certain Celtic words, by then assimilated into French dialects, came back to England when the Normans conquered Anglo-Saxon England: *battle*, *car*, *cargo*, *carpenter*, *gravel*, *truant*, *valet* for example.

The place-names of Britain reflect her history. By the names of villages and of towns we may almost determine the limits of settlement of her various invaders, with this exception: the older the origin of the name, the less likely is substitution to occur. It is for this reason that, though the Celts of Britain were driven westwards by their conquerors, so many of our river names are Celtic. Survivals of pre-Celtic speech there may be too in our place-names, but they must be very few.

But if little of the Celtic speech survived, their place-names are everywhere with us to-day. Yet many names familiar in English topography seem to belong to an earlier race still; we have in England and Scotland the Nidd or Nith: this is not Norse, for it appears in a document dating from the Roman Occupation, and it is not Celtic, for it is found in countries which the Celts never occupied. As Canon Isaac Taylor puts it, in early days 'geographical knowledge must have been very slender', and absence of movement and intercommunication made the naming of local physical features inessential. Rivers are by primitive peoples thought of as personal, each has its 'spirit' or presiding genius,² and it may be convenience or mere

¹ *Morgy* is Celtic for sea-dog, and is what the Cornishman calls the dogfish.

² 'Father Thames' is not the only instance which comes to the mind; we may remember the *Sabrina* of Milton's "Cornus," and the spirit of the Tweed mentioned in the author's note XII to Sir Walter Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel."

superstition which causes the retention of a name foreign to later occupants of its banks. Whole tribes, as Canon Taylor again points out, 'were acquainted with only one considerable river, and it sufficed, therefore, to call it "The Water" or "The River".' Celtic names for water are numerous; chief among them is *dwfr*, surviving in Dover, the chief landfall in Britain from continental Europe, in the Dour and Dore, with various descriptive prefixes and suffixes in such river-names as Calder, and perhaps in the collection of rivers Dee which we find as widely separated as are Chester and Banchory. *Stour* is probably an intensive form of the same word. *Don* and *Colne* are both Celtic water-words, appearing in many parts of England; so is *Thames*, which we find also as *Thame*, *Tame*, and *Teme*. The form of these river-names is inclined to vary; the word which became *uisge* in Gaelic and Erse, but *gwy* in Welsh, becomes, for example, *Exe*, in Devonshire, *Axe* in Somerset, *Usk* in Monmouthshire, *Esk* in Cumberland and Forfar and Midlothian. We find *Ouse* in the Midlands, Yorkshire and Sussex, which may be related to 'ooze'; though in Sussex it is from *aqua de Lewes*. Sometimes, on the other hand, the form does not vary over a wide stretch of country, there is the Salisbury Avon, the Bristol Avon, the Warwickshire Avon, and still another Avon running into the Forth estuary near Falkirk.

But if place-names are a guide to history, they present the most abominable difficulties. The worst possible way to attempt to explain place-names is to guess the meaning from the present spelling, for this is usually grossly corrupted from the original, like *Wihthgarabyrig* to Carisbrooke, and *Château Vert* to Shotover, and the only safe way is to study every possible instance of early documentary occurrence. True, villages are not called Redbourne for nothing, they are so styled because the red sandstone so colours the local stream, but one of the largest elements in English place-names is the personal or proper name, where corruption produces something very far distant from the original. One or two classic instances will suffice: Bridgwater, where the Parret estuary begins to widen, looks as if it earned its name because there the water was bridged. Consult Domesday Book: there it is recorded as *Brugie*, which is not so far distant from the Belgian Bruges, which

certainly has to do with bridges. But the modern name has nothing to do with 'water', it is either Walter's bridge or Walter's *burh*. But the science of place-names is a difficult one; there must be many who have thought the town of Barmouth well-named, for it stands at the mouth of a noble river with a sandy bar at the entrance. But Barmouth is properly Aber-Mawddach, at the mouth of the river Mawddach. The origin of English place-names simply cannot be guessed; anyone who thinks it can may begin with some of the stranger names: York, Neen Sollars, Stogumber, Leinthall Starkes, Wrockwardine, Heckmondwike, Laver Marney, Shellow Bowels, Puddletrenthide, Beer, Britwell Salome, Bay Horse. Who could guess that Nelson derives its name not in compliment to the victor of Trafalgar, but from a public-house called after him? In the same county as Nelson is Waterloo—was there a village of that name before 1815? and do all the various Wellingtons commemorate the Duke who won Waterloo?

Celtic speech, outside Wales and Scotland, which are naturally full of Celtic place-names (for subsequent invaders never fully penetrated to the Highland Zone in which these countries lie) provided at least two major elements in the nomenclature of the country, *dun*,¹ a fort, and *cwm*, a valley. The latter survives in the numerous 'combes' of the south-west and in the names of towns such as Wiveliscombe and Ilfracombe and High Wycombe. The former we find in Dunham and Dunstable, and frequently in Scotland, as in Dunbar and Dunbarton, which is the proper spelling of the last name. The hills, wooded or not, have best preserved the Celtic elements; a common Celtic word for head, *pen*,² is of frequent occurrence; we have Penygghent, Penn; in Scotland it becomes the *ceann* which shortens in Kincardine and Kintyre. There are more Celtic survivals in the place-names of England than one would think: *caer*, a fort (Carlisle); *maes*, a field (the numerous 'Maiden Castles', e.g. in Dorset and Cheshire, might be *maes dun*, hill fort); *ogof*, a cave; *coed*, wood; *mynydd*, mountain (the Longmynd in Shropshire, perhaps the Mendips in Somerset.) Another word, for a larger and more desolate

¹ The Celtic word is *dunon*; *dun* is an Old English word meaning 'hill'. It is difficult to say, therefore, whether the 'dun' element is Celtic or Old English.

² 'Head' suggests 'top' or 'end', which a hill is; hence 'pen' may be a 'hill'.

wood, *ffridd*, is still to be found in the *-frith* termination near London, or at Chapel-en-le-Frith in Derbyshire. It is probable that the word for an island which appears as *ey*, *ea*, etc., and is not the same as the Scots and Irish *inch* and *innis* or Welsh *ynys*, is not Celtic but Norse or Teutonic. It disguises itself by tacking itself on to an *l* or *s*, suggesting meadow or water, but appears all over the lowlands, particularly where 'islands' of rising ground reared their heads above the fens and marshes. So we have Whittlesey, Selsey and Sheppey; yet Hornsea is from *Hornesse*, 'Horn's peninsula'.

A slight acquaintance with Celtic survivals enables us to interpret the polysyllabic and consonantal names of Wales. The place-names of Scotland are also mainly Celtic in origin. Certain common river-names occurring therein have already been mentioned; we might add those elements which express contrast in size. Where Wales has *mawr* or *fawr*, and *bach* or *fach*, Gaelic Scotland has *mòr* and *beg* for 'large' and 'small'. *Ard*, a height; *craig*, a rock; *dhu*, dark; *kil*, a church; *kyle*, a strait; *ros*, a promontory; all have their Welsh (Brythonic) equivalents. Scotland is full of 'aber' and 'invers' (Aberdeen and Inverness), indicating the mouth or junction of rivers. 'Aber' is common in Wales (Aberdovey, Aberystwyth), 'inver' is unknown; a line drawn across the map of Scotland separating 'invers' from 'abers' probably indicates the limits of settlement of Gael and Brython respectively.

Something we could now perhaps deduce of the later history of the Celts. Apart from the river-names, the surviving place-names indicate their districts of occupation after the Angle and Saxon had driven them from meadow and plain; the west, from Cornwall and Devon to Wales, Cumbria, and western Scotland, is full of their words; so are the hills, not only the Welsh hills and the Pennines, but perhaps the wooded hills also, such as the Chilterns (Dunstable and Penn) whither the conqueror could not pursue them, and the watergirt islands of the eastern counties and of the Kent and Sussex marshes.

So many Celtic place-names became Latinised at the time of the Roman Occupation that it is difficult to ascribe the origin of many with certainty. We think of Doncaster as purely Roman, *Don-castra*, the camp or fort on the Don, but *Don* is

a Celtic river-name, and who shall say there was not a Celtic settlement known as *Caer Don*, meaning exactly the same thing? Collett has an excellent illustration of this; the Celtic name for Carlisle was *Caer Luel*, in which the change is obvious, but it must have been pure chance that the Romans did not similarly transpose the words, making the name *Luel-castra*, in which case we should now be calling Carlisle something like Lilchester. The Romans knew our capital as *Londinium*, which would easily become London in course of time, but the Celtic name may have been *Llyn-din*, the castle by the pool, so perhaps we should not be far wrong if we said *London* is a Celtic and not a Roman survival, though equally it may be from a personal name.

'Ancient Britons' seems to suggest other things besides Celts; 'Picts and Scots' seem to belong to the same category. The 'Ancient Britons,' so Julius Cæsar told us, painted their bodies with the blue juice of the plant called woad, and the Pict is sometimes thought to be the 'painted man' or the 'tattooed man' (Latin *pictus* = painted). (The Scot, little though the present-day Scot suggests it, is possibly the *scuit* or 'broken man'—broken because the Celt turned him out of Ireland, upon which he found refuge across the sea in Scotland.) Pictish history is largely a sealed book, but the Picts, all the same, have left some of their writings behind them. We call them *ogham*s and find them carved into standing stones; there are no letters, but vertical and sloping lines touch or cross a horizontal line in differing combinations of lengths and angles, something like the Norse runes. Thirty in all have been found in England and Wales, but in England only in the counties of Devon, Cornwall and Hampshire.

Celtic literature, as regards England, is somewhat scanty. All primitive peoples handed down their stories and legends and history by word of mouth from one generation to another; they were made into long epic poems and sung at banquets and funerals and coronations. Long after these songs were made, when the details had by this process become somewhat mixed and the people mentioned in them had been dead for years, the fashion of writing them down began, so how accurate the present versions are we cannot tell. Irish literature gives us the two great sagas of Finn and Cuchulain, full of fighting

in chariots and the use of war-dogs, and raids on a neighbour's cattle. Two Irish stories have been made familiar far outside their country of origin, the tragedy of Deirdre, and the legend retold by Fiona Macleod which Rutland Boughton orchestrated, *The Immortal Hour*, telling how Etain, wife of the fairy prince Midir, escaped and married the mortal King Eochaid, and how Midir won her again. It seems as if King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table were real historical personages, who generalised the last remnants of the Celts, after the Romans had left England, in the wars against the Anglo-Saxon invaders; their exploits were made into songs and nine hundred years afterwards Sir Thomas Malory reproduced the material in his *Morte d'Arthur*, and later still Lord Tennyson produced from the basis of these stories *The Idylls of the King*. In somewhat similar fashion the life-histories of the old Celtic heroes of the south-west, of Ireland and of Wales, were written down, partly as an introduction to the history of their own times which the early Celtic monks recorded; later still, in early mediæval times, such writers as Geoffrey of Monmouth included them in his *British History*, written before 1147, in which Shakespeare found the story out of which he made his play *King Lear*. So we have such documents as the *Annales Cambriæ*, the Annals of Wales; the Red Book of Hergest; the *Mabinogion*—a collection of Celtic fairy-stories and legends of half-mythical kings and princes. Celtic saints, after the conversion of the British Isles to Christianity, wrote Epistles to local chieftains just as St. Paul did to the scattered Christian churches of Greece and Asia Minor (for example, there is the 'Epistle of St. Patrick to the Christians subject to Coroticus'), and at the time of the Saxon invasions Celtic churchmen wrote the history of the days in which they were living. Gildas, a West Briton, wrote about A.D. 545 a description which he called the *Liber Querulus*, 'The Book of Complaint'; some unknown man or men produced, about A.D. 685, a history which in the ninth century was re-edited and styled *Historia Brittonum*, the history of the Britons.

Two quotations taken almost at random from Geoffrey of Monmouth will show the sort of 'history' served up by this process of passing on the details by oral tradition and writing the results down some hundreds of years after they happened.

'Next succeeded Bladud,¹ his son, and reigned twenty years. About this time the prophet Elijah prayed that it might not rain upon earth; and it did not rain for three years and six months. This prince was a very ingenious man, and taught magic in his kingdom, nor did he cease from his operations till he attempted to fly to the upper region of the air with wings which he had prepared, and fell down upon the temple of Apollo in the city of London, where he was dashed to pieces.'

'As Vortigern, king of the Britons, was sitting upon the bank of the drained pond, the two dragons, one of which was white, the other red, came forth and began a terrible fight. The white dragon had the advantage, and made the other fly, but he renewed the assault upon his pursuer and forced him to retire. The king commanded Ambrose Merlin² to tell him what it portended; upon which Merlin delivered what his prophetic spirit suggested to him as follows. (Merlin's speech runs to nearly five thousand words, and this is a sample of it.) "After them shall arise a German worm; he shall be advanced by a sea-wolf, whom the woods of Africa shall accompany. Religion shall again be abolished, and there shall be a translation of the metropolitan sees. The dignity of London shall adorn Canterbury, and the seventh pastor of York shall be resorted to in the kingdom of Brittany. St. David's shall put on the pall of the City of the Legions".'

People have gone all through this long speech and tried to prove that Merlin's prophecies were all accurate, and that there is a hidden meaning even in phrases such as 'Then shall come one with a drum, and appease the rage of the lion. Therefore shall the people of the kingdom be at peace, and provoke the lion to a dose of physic.' They would say the 'German worm' represents the Saxon conquerors, the 'sea-wolf' the Saxon pirates, using ships made from the 'woods of Africa.' Certainly Canterbury succeeded London, and St.

¹ The king who appears in legends as the discoverer of the hot springs of Bath, and the founder of that city.

² This is the Merlin who appears as the Court Magician in the stories of King Arthur and the Round Table.

David's the 'City of the Legions' (Caerleon or Chester), as the ecclesiastical headquarters of England and Wales respectively. But this sort of laborious effort is all rather misdirected energy.

Another Celtic or pre-Celtic legacy is much of what we commonly know as folklore, for the Celtic stories remained to be absorbed by later inhabitants of England and the rest of the British Isles, and even in this mechanical age many a villager firmly believes and will enlarge upon the superstitions thus engendered. One factor must none the less be stressed, characteristic as it is of all races and sections of peoples which have become isolated from the developments of civilisation. In the recesses of the mountains, on the shores of the sea, in solitude and untouched by mechanical progress, rationalism will not flourish. Legend will receive a recurrent lease of life, fostered by the song and story which will be the sole recreation of the long dark winters; superstition will become intensified in an atmosphere of mystery and of the unexplained forces of nature. In the folk stories and legends of the Celt, all the characteristics of the race as previously indicated are exemplified. The chief difference between the Celtic folk stories and that of many other races and nations is that while they are capable of rising to great heights, many of the most beautiful stories are too frequently ruined by the arbitrary introduction of something totally irrelevant, and, indeed, idiotically absurd. Even the Celtic ecclesiastical writings are largely compounded of what is nothing more than myth and legend, but the principal contribution to the great mass of world folklore is the insistence on a half-world between the kingdoms of earth and heaven; in other words, a literature of the fairies. Some of these stories may indeed have an historical background. The tradition of the brownie, the little dark-skinned man whom we find in the Scottish stories, doing good by stealth, helping the farmer by night with his work, but equally, if not courteously treated, a malignant foe, may be a memory of the Pictish race which the Scots drove into retreat in the Border hill country. The stories of giants and dwarfs may be no more than a people's memories of their hated conquerors or enemies; the Goidel, as larger than Neolithic Man, may in the course of time have been exaggerated to the proportions of a giant, and the small half-

subdued primitive peoples, driven to take refuge in caves and hills and forests, made the source of the tradition of a race of dark undersized hairy beings who were hardly human and rarely seen. Primitive and uncivilised Man invariably peoples his surroundings with half-known things outside common experience. Almost every race has a tradition of the existence of a fairy world, supposed to have come into existence on the occasion of the revolt of the angels against the Creator. Their expulsion seemed likely to depopulate Heaven; accordingly God stayed His hand, and those who at the moment of check were between heaven and earth became the fairies, denizens of neither world. The 'rings' caused by their dances are everywhere. A belief in fairies is still very characteristic of the Gaelic peoples, both of Ireland and of Scotland, a half-visualised race to whom exaggerated respect is paid, never referred to by its proper or common name, but always, with a sense of the need for propitiation of something possessed of magical powers, by a term which, literally translated, means "the good people"—the *sidhe* or Shee, which in the Welsh becomes the *Tylwyth Teg*, literally the 'Fair Family.' The menace of the fairies is a very real thing to the superstitious Celt, who fears their enmity and inhuman power: "when a thing pits the fear o' death on a man he aye speaks well of it," says the shepherd in John Buchan's *The Watcher by the Threshold*. The *sidhe*, with their grey-green garments and noiseless movement, come, not as the sun-god from the east, but from the mysterious darkling sunset west:

"Shut the North window
And quickly close the window to the South,
And shut the window facing West:
Evil never came from the East."

Thus they travel, not clockwise or with the sun, as decent folk do, but *widdershins*, from left to right, and so later did the witches and warlocks of ill-fame. Herein lies the origin of many a superstition: we deal a hand of cards and circulate the decanters the way of the sun (screws even unless there is good reason to the contrary are right-handed), and the soldier normally 'turns about' right-handed.

The survivals of this tradition are varied and numerous. The flint arrows used by the men of the Stone Age are thought to be the fairies' weapons, and a cow suffering from small punctures which are probably simply due to the attack of an insect is considered to be elf-shot. Few dwellings in the highlands of Scotland are without the mountain-ash or rowan tree planted at the door, which wards off the evil influence of the fairies; the other great safeguard against them is cold iron, possibly because of some confusion of thought with the suggested magical properties of the nails used at the Crucifixion, but more probably from a tradition dating back to the arrival of the men of the Iron Age, whose superior weapons gave them the mastery over men who knew only flint and bronze and so earned them an unqualified respect. The possession of iron filled a primitive people with superstitious awe;¹ hence we find the smith occupying a position of peculiar influence in the community. The smith is always, in legend, proof against the fairies' charm; the idea is extended even to the point that when in mythology it is a question of a dragon being slain, often it is the smith who is the hero who kills it. Wayland Smith, who, if you turn your back, shoes your horse on the Berkshire Downs, seems to be a survivor of a Scandinavian god, but is another case of the association of the smith with magic.² Salt, with its preservative qualities, is also a protection against the fairies.³ Salt enters into the Roman Catholic sacrament of baptism (the fairies, *ex hypothesi*, must be enemies to Christianity); it is salt which is placed on the dead to guard them from all harm between the passing of the spirit and burial.

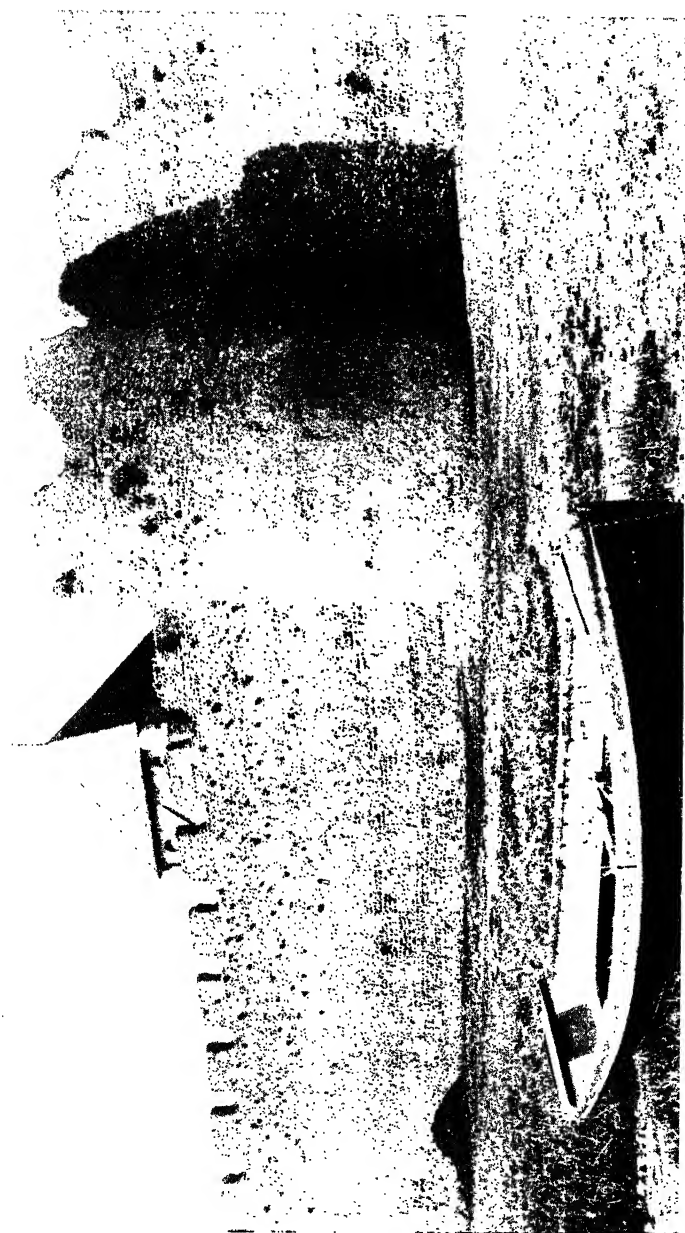
It is little enough we know of primitive religion in Britain, and it is unfortunate that the second-rate guidebook seems to know Druidism and nothing more, with the result that almost all things pre-Christian, particularly megalithic survivals, have the 'Druid' label affixed to them. But the religion of which the Druids were the priests and doctors is unquestionably a development from much earlier religious beliefs; our earliest forefathers probably began with the commonest simple objects of worship; the sun and the moon. The names of the first two

¹ The East Coast fishermen touch their iron-shod heels to avert ill-fortune.

² See also pp. 50-1

³ See also p. 51.

days of the week, Sunday and Monday, owe their origin to this primitive conception and dedication; moon-worship is recalled by the endurance of superstitions such as those which make us bow three times to the new moon, avoid seeing it first through glass if possible, and thrice turn the silver in our pockets when we do see it. With worship of the sun, the warmth- and life-giving principle, goes worship of fire. Whether 'Beltane' is derived from the Phœnician *baal* = lord and the Gaelic Celtic *tein* = fire or not, Baal-worship and fire-worship are often identical. The festivals of Baal or of fire-worship have remained the days of the national holidays. May-day, celebrating the return of the sun to power and of the coming of summer, is with its peculiar traditions in many countries still observed: on that morning maidens wash their faces in the dew to ensure fairness, and the youth of both sexes spend the night in the woods, gathering green boughs and weaving garlands, bearing which in procession they return to their homes 'bringing in the summer.' May-day, the beginning of summer, is associated with pagan rites and customs, such as the may-pole, a phallic symbol of fertility, the garlands of flowers which once decked human sacrifices slain to propitiate the deities of the crops and of the domestic beasts, the dances which were part of the ritual of the same religious ceremonies invoking the assistance of the gods to ensure the fertility of the fields. Midsummer Eve, still to many a 'Beltane's Eve,' was another of these festivals; the departure of summer furnished yet another occasion for special commemoration. This festival, turned by a Christian Church, which knew better than to court serious unpopularity by suddenly abandoning *all* the pagan highdays, into Hallowe'en, has also survived; in the games with apples and apple-peelings and nuts is an echo of the divination of the future by priests of Baal by means of the smoke from the ceremonial bonfires and the writhings of the sacrifices. Hallowe'en, All Soul's Eve, which received Burns's special attention, is still for Christians, as it was for our heathen ancestors, the day of the departed: the Church remembers the spirits of the departed; superstition accords on this day special licence to ghosts and the powers of darkness; Baal-worshippers deplored the waning sun. Most of our modern All Hallows' Eve customs are of early origin: particularly in the border villages



PORCHESTER CASTLE

"A solidarity which bespeaks a calm confidence in continued survival" (p. 67.)



ROMAN BATHS, BATH

"The public baths which were felt to be a necessary adjunct to every Roman town" (p. 78.)

of Shropshire and Herefordshire is it believed that he who enters the churchyard at midnight will see pass before him the figures of those who are due to die in the coming year. A girl going fasting to bed may see over her shoulder in the mirror the face of her future husband, and the superstitions and games connected with roasting chestnuts and apple-rinds are repeated in many a household year by year. With the lengthening of the days came a further festival. Christians turned Yule, the rebirth of the sun, into Christ Mass, the commemoration of the birth of Christ, nine months from the earliest signs of the fertility of the soil, from the time of sowing, from the restoration of the life-principle, and when the inception of the new year was transferred from Hallowe'en, the Celtic *Shamin*, 'fire of Baal' or 'end of summer,' to the week after Christmas, Yule and New Year's Day were combined into one long festival. We decorate then with mistletoe, the Druids' sacred plant, and at no other time; we hold watch-night services and 'see the New Year in' just as the priests of Baal awaited the moment for the lighting of the ceremonial bonfire; we let in the 'first-foot' and wish each other A Happy New Year. The 'first-foot' ceremony, transferred in Christian England to *our* New Year's Day, January 1st, is to be found in Celtic folklore and not confined only to this day, for the first person met by a woman on leaving the house after childbirth will govern the fate of the infant. The tradition that the 'first-foot,' the first person entering the house in the New Year, should be a male is probably an echo of hatred of the fairies, who are presumed all to be female, and insistence on a dark man is most likely due to Neolithic man's dislike of his fair-haired Goidel conquerors and the black Celt's repugnance to the blond Angle or Saxon. (On the East Coast it is thought desirable that the 'first-foot' should be fair, which may originate in Angle prejudice against his swarthy predecessor.)

Stones and pebbles, too, play a great part in Celtic mythology. The insistence on the magical properties of stones and pebbles may be either a legacy from the days of Megalithic man with his stone temples and burial-places and commemorative monuments, or from those of early Celtic Christianity, when the Cross was most conveniently and unalterably represented by carving it in or out of stone; moreover, as indeed

they have been in the majority of civilisations, blocks of stone formed the sacred altars. To the primitive man of one epoch, stone was unshakably associated with magic and power, for he was being conquered by a race which had learnt to make use of cut stone for its weapons and tools, while he knew only the blunter and lighter and more fragile flint. Certain pebbles are thought to be magical talismans against almost every form of evil. The cairns which decorate so many hillsides and hill-tops sometimes owe their origin also to custom. The clan marching out to battle each gathered one stone, which was placed in a heap; after victory, or defeat, each survivor abstracted a stone, the residue giving the number of the slain and providing a memorial to the dead. The user of stone, having learnt to fear the power of a race which possessed utensils of iron, endowed the metal with magical properties, among which is its power to ward off the influence of evil spirits, and passed into the racial store of legend the idea of the smith, skilled in metal-work, as the logical national and local champion against the spells of witches and the ravening of dragons. Few nations do not possess the tradition of the horseshoe as a luck-bringer and guardian against the fairies' spells, for it is made of cold iron, which no supernatural being can face.

Celtic folklore contains great insistence on the foretelling of death. Death is ever near to a people which lives the uncertain disastrous warring life of the Celt of the jagged mountains and stormy seas. Solitude and the long dark sterile winters and the constant recurrence of tragic accidents, the tale of young men and maidens cut off in the flower of their youth, of sudden disappearances and lonely ends, will produce a comprehensive lore of the end of life. Still, the hope which springs eternal in the human breast induces the belief, long before Christianity arrives with the neatly-formulated doctrine of the Resurrection, that death is a passing for body and spirit to better things. As the sun, the giver of life and warmth and fertility, passes to its daily death in the west, and as in the west are those mysterious islands which from their unfamiliarity must be the peculiar province of the inhabitants of an unseen world, so the Celtic spirit passes at the last to *Tír na nÓg*, the Land of Youth, the Fortunate Isles, a blessed mystic land

beyond the setting sun, where too is *Hy-Breasail*, the island of the *sidhe*. About the business of death will grow up a lively set of traditions, just as in the future the spirit must take its leave of the body fortified by the last rites of Holy Church that devils may not seize it and bear it to the eternal damnation of unabsolved impenitence. The platter of salt placed on the breast of the corpse will certainly prevent the body swelling; it is intended also to ward off evil spirits. Even in this century I have had pointed out to me a 'sin-eater,' a poverty-stricken peasant who for a cash consideration would eat the bread and salt placed upon the corpse and in so doing signify his willingness to take upon himself the sins of the dead. Before death the banshee, the spirit of death, the *bán-sídhe* or 'fairy woman,' will wail about the house (hearing her, the watch-dogs will howl, and the complaint of the hound will itself become a sign of impending death); the foreknowledge of the *sidhe* will cause to burn on road and hillside the corpse-lights which presage the proximity of a funeral. In the common happenings of the day and night and in the unexplained acts of Nature the materialistic and unimaginative will see nothing but the event itself, but there will be others who will seek both for a cause and a meaning, and interpreting these in prophecies, will, if these prove to be correct, be accorded unusual respect.

Celtic folklore is full of stories of the man who dwelt for part of his mortal life in fairyland, often as the mate of the Queen of the Fairies. The most familiar example is that of Thomas of Ercildoune, Thomas the Rhymer, who appears in the Border legends of Scotland; an Irish tradition has been repeated in modern verse in the story of Kilmeny; the story is found in Wales as well and in a variant form in Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market*. Normally the sojourner returns to his human companions, unconscious that he has been away from them for more than a few hours at all; usually he lives but a short time after his unearthly experience. Of very frequent occurrence is the legend of 'the man who married a fairy,' who usually rises out of water and appears as the 'Lady of the Lake' and who, if firmly grasped, consents to marriage with her captor on the understanding that if three times he touches her with cold iron or speaks harshly to her without a cause she will return to her fairy home. Usually an accidental striking

with cold iron occurs in the story, often the result of the man's throwing a bridle at an unbroken colt and hitting his wife instead. There may be a connection here with the idea that fairies are all female and must seek male partners, but this is denied by the recurrent legends of changelings, fairy children substituted for human babes. The familiar story of Rumpelstilzkin finds an echo here; the lost human child is almost always restored if the bereaved mother can discover the robber fairy's name and pronounce it aloud three times. (Three is of course a mystical and potent number, whether associated with the Christian Trinity's powers over supernatural beings or not.)¹

Strange and mis-shapen monsters play a great part in the Celtic, as in all other, mythologies. They may in the tales be the result of union between an animal or bird and a human; actually they may be due to Celtic or earlier memories of a previous primitive people who, bulky and hairy and only recently promoted to walking on two instead of four limbs, terrified a more human race of newcomers. Many Celtic monsters inhabit water; the tradition of the kelpie or water-horse is prevalent over northern England as well as the Celtic countries, while in Wales is encountered the *afanc* which seems to be a kind of beaver inhabiting pools and lakes and claiming a toll of human and animal life. The report of the Loch Ness monster fell on receptive and already-tuned Celtic ears, quite apart from its publicity value. Also, the Celt hates the hare, the animal embodiment of witches in place of the cat or toad more familiar to the Englishman. The only satisfactory way to deal with a witch is to shoot with a silver bullet the animal whose form she takes, when on her return to human shape she will be found to be suffering from a wound in the corresponding portion of the body. There is a Celtic tradition that the hare was sent by the Moon with a message to the inhabitants of the Earth, to point out that life after death existed in exactly the same way in which the Moon disappears once every thirty days, and rises again. Unfortunately, the hare got the message altogether wrong, and in her anger the Moon threw an axe at it, providing it permanently with the hare-lip. From this has

¹ The number three certainly symbolises the male reproductive system, and five the conjoint male and female principle.

been evolved the legend that if on starting a journey a hare crosses one's path, the enterprise cannot possibly be successful and had better be abandoned.

Celtic folklore, the above will suggest, is largely connected with water. This is a characteristic of the folklore of many races; everywhere we find wells sacred in pagan as well as Christian mythology. The association of the mysterious underground spring with the hidden source of life is almost universal. As the supernatural beings of Celtic tradition live underground, so do its major heroes not pass from the earth. Arthur and his Knights lie in a vast cavern waiting for a summons to return to life and lead Christendom to victory against the heathen, and the lucky man who can find the entrance to their cave will find there gold for the taking. Celtic countries have no monopoly of the legendary site; local tradition places his entombment at Richmond in north Yorkshire and Alderley Edge in Cheshire, among other places. But Arthur is post-Roman, and must be dealt with later (p. 82).

In what we have already said with regard to the general principles of the historical geography of Britain are contained the factors which govern the distribution of our earliest ancestors. At the same time the climatic factor must not be neglected, for in the time of the Ice Ages Man needed, primarily, shelter. The intense cold must have driven him into caves and burrows in the sides of the lesser hills and the river-banks; that is to say, where the snow and ice were least severe.

The various kinds of dwelling places of the Celtic and pre-Celtic populations have survived in considerable quantities. They are of widely differing types. There is the cave, the underground pit, the hut circle, the lake village, and the hill camp, or fort. The men of the Old Stone Age, it was said, inhabited caves. A well-known example of a cave dwelling, used in all probability when the Roman armies drove the Celt to the mountains, though caves are among the earliest types of dwelling place, is the Victoria Cave near Settle in Yorkshire. But, since little can be glimpsed through the mists which shroud the earlier days of prehistory, our study of Early British Man must perforce ignore the Ice Age, and begin about 2100 B.C., with the builders of the megaliths, the giant stone circles and avenues. Megalithic Man was by no means an uncivilised

savage; he was both pastoralist and agriculturalist, for he had his flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and practised a rude type of farming. It is the needs of his beasts and his crops rather than fear of his enemies which made him settle in downland; the fact is that the dense forests of the waterlogged valleys made it impossible for him to settle therein, for there he had neither space in which to sow his seed nor pasture for his animals.¹ Downland gave him what he wanted: above and behind his settlements his sheep and cattle could continually change their grazing area; his crops could be grown on the gravel terraces of the hillside well above the flooded watercourses which made the practice of agriculture near their banks impossible. One of the principle concentrations of his monuments is on Salisbury Plain and the Wiltshire downs, for here the required conditions are perfectly reproduced. There are wide, level, fertile grazing areas; abundance of water; slopes gentle enough for the growing of crops. So long as the lower slopes of the river valleys were of gravel and not of clay he would occupy them: he may even have been a fisherman and anxious to be close to the pools of Thames and Medway. But where the hills were clay-capped, and so forested, as in the Chilterns and North Downs, and South Downs above Chichester, he did not settle.

In what fashion he originally lived hardly matters. The poorer and less extensive the population, the poorer the dwelling-place. He may have begun with pit-dwellings and hut-circles, or with hollows in the ground roofed with the boughs of trees and woven reeds. But, whatever his beginnings, he arrived ultimately at the great hill towns of the south and west. These towns may have been the result of the growth of economic inequality, some men becoming rich and the poor being forced to work for their masters. Alternatively, these hillcrest earthen ditches and ramparts² may have been the result of the advance of invaders from the east, entering Britain in the south-east and moving northwards and west-

¹ Kipling's "The Knife and the Naked Chalk" in *Rewards and Fairies* brings out with great emphasis the contrast between open downs and forest and downland man's dread of the damp, misty, mysterious woodlands.

² There is still a good deal of doubt about the date of these. 'About 500 B.C. seems the most probable era of their creation, but some, e.g. Maiden Castle, may be 1500 years earlier.

wards; they may have been thrown up to stem the advance or constructed by the newcomers as defensive points against the resistant older inhabitants of the island. In any case, settlements on the grand scale were natural, for Man in the primitive pastoral and agricultural state, as was Megalithic British Man, had a tendency to congregate into tribes. Obviously such erections as Stonehenge and Avebury and the other great stone circles were the work of many men acting in conjunction, not of isolated settlements. That motives of self-defence entered into the origin of the hill-settlements is a probability; that these 'towns' were also trading centres is proved by the discovery of Whitby jet and metals from the north or west in the Wiltshire burial-places; for both a manufacturing centre and a warehousing centre must have some physical protection which situation on a hilltop alone cannot give. From the evidence of discoveries of the weapons and ornaments of the invaders—our principal clue to the situation and types of settlements and distribution—it seems probable that these settlements extended northwards and westwards into Britain, at length even into the Highland Zone; but that for a thousand years afterwards there was little noticeable alteration either in the manner of Man's life or in the areas of settlement. Salisbury Plain, as the most advantageous centre, both from economic suitability and as the focus of communications, remains the headquarters of early British life.

Neolithic Man was probably first a hut-dweller; his hut circles are to be found everywhere in Western Britain. But the Neolithic 'hut' was not exactly what we mean by this word, but rather a pit a few feet deep in the earth, anything from ten to thirty feet in diameter, and roofed with an erection rather like a beehive made out of boughs held together by mud. Of hut circles there is an admirable example at Grimspound on Dartmoor, occupying an open space 154 x 121 yards, protected by a double stone wall. The principal hut is about eleven feet in diameter, with a doorway thirty-three inches wide. At one end is a raised platform, which was apparently used for sleeping upon, and there still remain the hearth, a cooking hole lined with stones to retain the heat of the fire, and a stone anvil on which bones were cracked in order to extract the marrow from them. The best example of the lake village,

occupied probably from 100 B.C. to A.D. 50, is near Glastonbury, where a framework of piles was driven into the mud of the lake and the peat near-by and huts made of reed thatch erected upon it. Causeways of stone connected it with the shore, but these ended before they reached the village, and obviously were bridged only when the occupants wished to traverse the intervening water. An additional defence was secured by means of a stockade. Investigation has shown that the structure was inclined to sink in the ooze, and that as the dwelling-places gradually disappeared new ones were built on the roofs of the old. The Glastonbury Lake Village has yielded interesting relics, ranging from the clay bullets which were heated red-hot and slung at approaching enemies, to the dice, some dishonestly loaded, with which the inhabitants gambled.

The great hill camps of the west and south-west are familiar sights, situated on the crest of the hill and consisting of successive earthworks and ditches. It may have been Neolithic Man who constructed some of the earliest hill-forts. Maiden Castle in Dorset, Cadbury in Somerset, Dolebury and Worlebury, probably owe their origin to the men of the later Stone Age, though the elaboration of the ditches and earthworks as preserved for our inspection is of later date. But the majority of the hill-forts almost certainly date from the Bronze Age, and are so not necessarily 'Celtic.' They are of every possible shape, according to the contours of the hill they crown, with their most elaborate fortifications defending the easiest slopes; they occur as isolated examples and again as chains of forts along the line of a range as though they had been constructed according to alliances between neighbouring peoples. Equally they face each other across valleys as though the frontier outposts of enemy tribes. The size of some of the more elaborate camps shows that they must have given refuge to a considerable population and its flocks of cattle and sheep. Cissbury in Sussex occupies a site of sixty acres, and the Herefordshire Beacon is in the form of an oval, measuring 1,100 yards in circuit. Modern theories, however, dispute the suggestion that the great earthworks were simply defensive points. Later their protection of the early tracks of England will be mentioned; they may have housed the men required to supervise the forced

labour which built erections like Stonehenge and Avebury, they may have been as ceremonial as the megaliths themselves, they may have been simply walled towns of settlement or of the mining industries. With the camps are connected the dew ponds, holes dug in the soil and lined originally with clay and straw, so drawing the moisture from the humid night air, and causing it to condense in these receptacles, making the local population independent of springs, streams and rainfall.

A revolution in the type of tool which enabled Man to combat his physical difficulties was necessary for the alteration of the areas of settlement. It became possible for the first time to attack the forests of the lowland areas which had made settlement in much of Britain impossible; the new bronze tools would quickly cut down the trees in a way which stone axes could never imitate. The Thames valley and the Essex plains became centres of the new peoples; east and west were in competition for pre-eminence in Britain. The introduction of weapons and tools of iron (*circa* 500 B.C.) decided the locality which should triumph, for the Iron Age entered Britain from northern France and by way of the south-eastern ports. Eastern Britain was cleared of much of her forest land, and here, in place of the hill-fort, which in the absence of knolls and ridges could not be constructed, develops the stockaded lowland settlement, as at Colchester or St. Albans, protected from attack by woodland belts and stretches of marsh.

Besides the camps, most numerous in the south and west, we have the dykes of the north and east. Flamborough Head in Yorkshire is protected by a series of entrenchments, misnamed the 'Danes' Dyke,' though doubtless the raiding Danes made use of them many hundreds of years after their construction. In Cambridgeshire five great dykes, protecting East Anglia from an attack from the west and crossing the old track from the south-west to Norfolk, guard the open land between the impenetrable forest and the impassable fen. The countryside here is full of the place-name Ditton, which is simply 'dyke-town.' The road mentioned above, the Icknield Way, is itself protected by a ditch and rampart near Berkhamsted which opposes the track from London now followed by the L.M.S. main line from Euston.

While much which was of Celtic or pre-Celtic workmanship has survived in the river beds, or remained under the soil until discovered by the spade of the excavator, the legacy in relation to industry is very small. It is curious that in 2500 years man should have been unable to improve on his original method of chipping flints, and that there still exists to-day the flint-knapping industry, principally for the type of flint-lock gun supplied to the natives of West Africa and elsewhere, at Brandon in Suffolk, and Cissbury in Sussex, which survived through the period of the tinder-box before the invention of matches. It is just possible that the technical terms of the flint industry, words which occur nowhere else, are survivals of Neolithic speech. Lead-mining, from the presence of megalithic remains near-by, was carried on not only in the Isle of Man and the Cheviots, but in Wales, in Derbyshire, and on the Mendips as well. Jet was found at Whitby, iron at Rollright in Oxfordshire, copper in Cornwall, Devon, Cumberland and Wales, tin in Cornwall, gold in Cornwall and Devon, Wales and Scotland, the shells which gave the purple dye on the south-western coasts, and pearls in the rivers of Wales and Scotland. But the legacy on the architectural side is a considerable one, though it should not be thought of as purely Celtic, since very probably much which remains dates back to a considerably earlier age. The barrows and tumuli which indicate burial places must be familiar to anyone who has crossed the Wiltshire downs. Early Neolithic man raised above the graves of his dead what we know as the 'long barrow,' resembling, says Rice Holmes, 'half of a pear cut lengthwise and laid upon its flat side.' England contains well over a hundred of these, mostly in the south-west, the average size being 45 x 160 feet. The grave is normally at the thicker end, and the thicker end normally points to the rising sun. From the situation of the long barrows it is suggested that primitive man living within reasonable distance brought his dead for burial to the south-west of England. Examples occur in the north, where the distance, say to Wiltshire, would be too great for transport; no long barrow has been found east of Oxfordshire except for a single example in Kent. Some are chambered, as though they were a family vault, the dolmen or chamber being constructed of rough-hewn stone, and the earth

piled over all, the corpse and the human and animal sacrifices slain at the funeral and buried with the illustrious dead. But men of subsequent ages remove the earth and sometimes the stones of the chamber, or on the removal of the earth the stones fall to earth. At Kit's Coty House above the Medway can be seen the stones of a perfect double grave; many of the great stones far from their natural home are the walls and flat roof of a primitive dolmen.

The men of the Bronze Age constructed their barrows or burial-mounds in the shape of a bell or a bowl, whence we know them as round barrows. They laid their corpses in a stone-protected hole or in a cist or stone coffin; those who burnt their dead collected the ashes into a funerary urn. The round barrows stand in groups; perhaps a whole family was buried in the same small compass as they died, perhaps a chieftain was interred at the centre and his wives and concubines and slaves sacrificed and disposed around his tomb. The Brythons, Celts of the later Iron Age, buried their dead in shallow pits, usually after cremation.

There are few counties in England which do not contain several specimens of the menhirs or cromlechs, great single stones, originally erect, but now, in many cases, fallen flat, which marked their burial sites, their battle-fields, and their boundaries. An extensive tradition has grown up round a stone which may be no more than one of these menhirs; the Stone of Scone, or *Lia Fail*, which, legend would have, was the pillow on which Jacob's head rested when he had his vision of angels ascending to heaven by a ladder, brought to Scotland from Palestine by way of Spain and Ireland, there to become the sacred seat of the king at his coronation, a position it now occupies in the Coronation Chair in Westminster Abbey following its transportation from Scotland by Edward I. It is, however, probably a local stone.

But the two best known megalithic monuments are Stonehenge and Avebury. Many and wonderful suggestions have been made as to the original use of Stonehenge. It is said to be a temple of the Druids, and so constructed that the rising sun on Midsummer's Day would strike the altar stone on which lay a victim waiting to be sacrificed, and the most elaborate astronomical calculations have been performed to show that

this would happen in the year 1680 B.C., which is therefore taken as the date of its completion. The suggestion can, however, be altogether disregarded, for it is sufficiently established that in buildings of this type the open space between the stones always faced towards the rising sun at the summer solstice, and the variation from year to year must have been so small that a sun-worshipper had no more intention than that of making it approximately face the sunrise. The extent of Stonehenge is unquestionably impressive, and must, before its dilapidation, have been even more so, with its external earthwork 300 feet in diameter, and its inner circle of trilithons, that is, two upright stones supporting a horizontal third, thirty in all, averaging about $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. The majority of the stones used in the building probably came from the Vallis quarries at Frome, but there is an inner circle in which the stones are all of a blue colour, and of a character found in the British Isles only in the Prescelly Mountains in Pembrokeshire, from which, it seems, they must have been transported. Much has been written of the appalling suffering which must have been inflicted on the labour battalions who drew these colossal blocks of stone on wooden rollers over such incredible distances, but the fact remains that they were probably transported in no such fashion. The importance and extent of water transport even at that date have been somewhat overlooked, and there was little to prevent transport from Pembrokeshire by sea and so up the Salisbury Avon, or from Frome along the Somerset and Wiltshire rivers, which were undoubtedly of greater volume than they are now.

We are still unable to determine with exactitude the respective dates of Avebury and Stonehenge. A comparatively recent letter to *The Times* suggested that Avebury can be dated with certainty to the period 1900–1700 B.C.; less definite pronouncement, based in part on the curious correspondence of the blue glaze star-shaped beads found in certain barrows of south-western England and those known to be contemporary with the Egyptian XVIIIth dynasty, would put the erection of Avebury at from 1800–1300 B.C. and that of Stonehenge at from 1400–1000 B.C. What this megalithic survival certainly was not is any one of the suggestions in Wharton's sonnet:

'Whether by Merlin's aid from Scythia's shore
To Amber's fatal plain Pendragon bore,
Huge frame of giant's hands, the mighty pile
To entomb his Britons slain by Hengist's guile,
Or Druid priests, sprinkled with human gore
Taught 'mid the massy maze their mystic lore,
Or Danish chiefs, enriched with savage spoil,
To Victory's idol vast, an unhewn shrine,
Rear'd the rude heap.'

And its first mention in English literature is in a document of the twelfth century A.D.!

If we could now see the 650 original stones of Avebury instead of the twenty remaining, they would probably prove even more impressive than those at Stonehenge, but the requirements of the builder have removed the balance. The enclosing circular ditch circumscribed a space of $28\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and from this circle there was certainly one long winding avenue, stone-bordered, stretching in the direction of Beckhampton, and there may have been another leading towards Kennett. Since this was serpentine in shape, certain antiquarians have altogether mistakenly deduced the existence in England of a race of snake-worshippers. Between the suggested avenues stands Silbury Hill, an artificial conical mound of earth still 130 feet high, and certainly once much higher, with a base covering five acres. Its situation serves to prove that it at least is pre-Roman, for the Roman road from Bath to Marlborough makes a sudden bend to avoid it.

That the stone circles of Avebury and the earthen pyramid of Silbury were in some way connected, and are not neighbours by accident, seems fairly certain. Avebury and Silbury are possibly the oldest, or at least among the oldest, of English stone circles and conical barrows. The latter are infrequent, though what has been called 'Merlin's Mount' at Marlborough is one example, and there is another, Gib Hill Barrow, in Derbyshire. This last, with the stone circle of Arbor Lowe near-by, practically reproduces, though on a much smaller scale, the Avebury-Silbury plan.

Temples of a primitive people these stone circles may have been, but it would be difficult to prove that they were more

than gigantic burial places, and perhaps meeting places; we might almost call them the Westminster Abbey and Hall of those days. England is particularly rich in stone circles, though none of the others approaches the dimensions of Stonehenge and Avebury, but those of Stanton Drew in Somerset and Little Salkeld in Cumberland are not to be despised.

The traveller might well ask himself why Wiltshire, which contains both Stonehenge and Avebury, as well as many minor monuments, is the principal home of megalithic remains. A glance at the map on p. 23 will suggest a reason. Draw straight lines joining Cornwall and Norfolk, Sussex and the Severn valley, East Yorkshire and Dorset, at such angles that the higher hills and mountains are avoided. These intersect in such fashion as to make Wiltshire the obvious centre of early civilisation, and such lines have an historical basis, for a system of communicating ridgeways along the flat treeless downs covered neolithic England. The two greatest ridgeways, those whose eastern ends are the one in Norfolk, the other in Kent, meet within a short distance of Avebury. As a proof that there *was* communication throughout England, amber from the east, jet from Whitby, shale from Dorset, have all been found in the Wiltshire barrows.

Farming on the steep downs was a difficult matter. Seed sown on the slopes would be washed away by the rain and descending streams, so primitive man was obliged to terrace the hillside if he wished to grow crops. Such terraces are not yet altogether obliterated, and may be seen below and near the hilltop camps, as on the North Downs of Kent, in Berkshire and the south-western counties.

In the chalk of Essex and Kent are deep shafts, ending in extensive pits, to which the name of 'dene holes' has been given. Probably these are the remains of early excavations to reach the flint needed for weapons by the men of the Stone Age; later they were perhaps used, in Celtic times, as storehouses for corn, secure from weather and plunder. Later still they may even have been used as places of refuge.

The traveller south of the Thames frequently encounters the figure of a White Horse formed by removing the turf from the white chalk of the downs. The White Horse is the Saxon emblem, and when, as at Westbury in Wiltshire, we find its

effigy hard by the site of a Saxon victory over the Danes, we may suspect a Saxon origin. But the Celt loved the horse which drew his war-chariots and which he depicted on his coins, and he may have been their first delineator on the Downs, while the Saxon later improved the outline. The early White Horses, indeed, may be symbols of the corn and fertility goddess. Some of the White Horses to be seen are frankly modern; the older ones extremely crude and ill-proportioned. The Long Man of Wilmington in Sussex and the Cerne Giant in Dorset, colossal rude figures of a man, are almost certainly far older, possibly of religious significance and dating from the days when a primitive nature-worship was general.

Civilisation in England always descends from the higher to the lower ground; it is only in this century that a movement has been made in the opposite direction. The reason is a fairly obvious one. The earliest English farmers were shepherds, and needed the open spaces and turf of the hills and downs for the pasture of their flocks. Moreover, forest and marsh, with which their primitive tools could scarcely cope, were more or less barred to them. Gradually, as the rivers shrunk, and Man invented ways of clearing the forest and so became a grower of crops as well as a tender of flocks, he descended from the hills to live in the valleys. His forts on the hilltops remain, though few modern towns preserve their sites, and those which do have so far not been thoroughly explored, such as Shaftesbury, Stow-on-the-Wold and Brill.

English history could in some measure be closely studied by tracing the history of transport. Man is first a hunter; secondly a sheep farmer; next an agriculturist, and finally an industrial worker; and his roads reflect these successive stages in his progress. As a hunter he needs nothing more than certain tracks to lead him to and from the herds of game. As a sheep farmer he must move his flocks from pasture to pasture. His inability to contend with rivers and forests leads him to remain, even in his movement, at the crest of the hills, and so our earliest roads are what we know as the ridgeways, running along the water partings of the lower hills. The ridgeways survived in common use over a long period. The most famous of all, which ultimately gained the title of the Pilgrims' Way (though it is doubtful if the pilgrims used it), can be traced

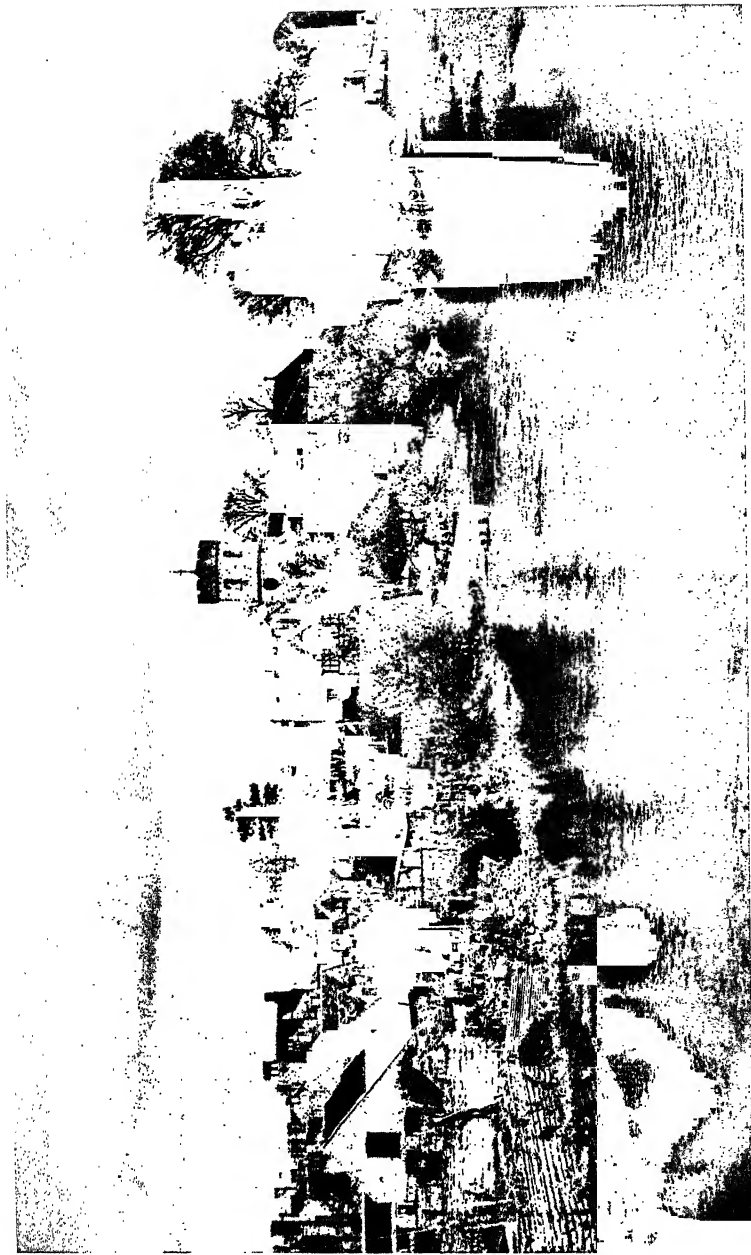
from Winchester to Canterbury, and that known as *The Ridgeway*, or Icknield Way, must, at one time, had been almost the only path crossing the island, from the Hampshire Downs by way of Avebury to Streatley, where the Thames is forded, and so by way of the Hertfordshire hills and the Gog-Magogs in Cambridgeshire to Thetford in Norfolk and the Wash. It is quite possible that the Roman roads known as Watling Street and Stane Street were superimposed on old tracks. Along these ways, and many others, came crowds from all parts of England to participate in the ceremonies at Avebury and Stonehenge. The motives which caused primitive man to remain on the downland hills in addition to those already mentioned are fairly obvious. There he had the best possible view of prospective enemies. He avoided a clay soil or marsh, both a hindrance to his journey, and for the same reason he could not mount the higher hills with their mountain bogs, and he followed the theory so far that when forced to leave the hills to cross a river valley he descended by the shortest route, no matter how steep the descent or ascent might be. But there is an additional reason even for this. So long as it was a matter of driving flocks, the gradient was of little importance; it is not until wheeled traffic becomes general that the mildest slopes must be used. We cannot, of course, say that all these cattle tracks are of prehistoric origin, for there was much driving of beasts up and down the country in mediæval times, but some idea of their continual and considerable use may be judged from the fact that at Alton Priors in Wiltshire the track is worn to a depth of twelve feet below the surrounding soil. There are various ways of suggesting the age of an old road. If by the side of it there are very early monuments, the road was probably constructed to enable travellers to reach them; and again, if the road can be shown to be an ancient boundary, it is probably very much older than the boundary itself. Another guide is the existence of cross-roads. If at the side of these there is a prehistoric monument, the roads are probably of its age, for again they led travellers to it.

At least two other forms of prehistoric roads remain, for as Man began to descend to the valleys, he made new roads parallel with the ridgeways, but for the sake of convenience not so high up the slope; and the sunken lanes characteristic



CRICKET AT WIMBORNE

“As English as the cricket-pitch which preserves one-tenth of the furrow-long’s total length of 220 yards” (p. 95.)



BIDFORD-ON-AVON

“Nothing has yet succeeded in taking the English village from us” (p. 95.)

of the west country are probably prehistoric as well. It is doubtful if primitive man, with his crude tools, could have hollowed these out himself, but no doubt he took advantage of the path made by descending floods and water, which would seem to be the cause which has produced these deep trenches in the hillside.

Considerable space has been accorded the legacy of the inhabitants of England prior to the Roman Conquest because, as we possess it to-day, it is so hard to explain. It is apparent everywhere in the country, and yet the ascription of any part of it to a definite period is so much a matter of difficulty that it is hardly a matter of wonder that so many writers have shirked a confusing task and written as if before the Romans and Saxons there were 'Ancient Britons,' and before that, Chaos. Her numerous races of original inhabitants have provided England with permanent problems; the Celtic legacy does not end with the subjection of the country to the Roman Empire.

The Celt, almost all of whose ideas are paradoxical, is happiest when he is mourning something lost, and though his ideas of recovering it are often crude, he is sufficiently violent, long-memoried, and inflammatory to make himself a thorough nuisance to his neighbours. The Celtic lands have never really appreciated the blessings of English government; the history of the relations of England with Ireland is the history of centuries of misunderstanding. The Englishman, whether the descendant of an Anglo-Norman adventurer acquiring an Irish estate in the days when Strongbow conquered the Island for Henry II, or of a Cromwellian soldier 'planted' there to become a landed gentleman, has too often seen himself as the representative of law and order, appointed to bring enlightenment and civilisation to an unwashed, shiftless, reactionary, superstitious peasantry. The native Irishman, on the other hand, sees in the Englishman a thief and a usurper, and thinks of himself as the descendant of kings, whose patrimony has been filched and who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow while an absentee landlord squanders the proceeds of the estate in riotous living. Herein lies the root of the Irish Problem, to which the recognition of the once Irish Free State was no sort of solution.

Scots and Welsh for centuries vigorously resisted the attempts of England to create a United Kingdom. The results are apparent in the ruins of the border fortresses and the plaint of the inoffensive Englishman whose cattle have been plundered from him by a race to whom honest toil, it appears to him, is unknown:

‘Taffy was a Welshman;
Taffy was a thief;
Taffy came to my house
And stole a piece of beef.’

Neither Scots nor Welsh Nationalism seems likely to attain its desires; the disadvantages outweigh the advantages of separation from the richer neighbour. But deep hatred and distrust of the Saxon, the Sassenach or Saesneg, have never been wholly eradicated, and while the Saxon's and the Dane's Scottish cousins have avenged centuries of hopeless warfare by crossing the border and occupying all the principal positions in the English commonwealth, the Celt, whether of Wales or of western Scotland, has never successfully retaliated against the Saxon invader's spoliation. Nor will he ever do so, and this book will end with the last despairing rally of the Celt, the final romantic desperate revolt which began in the Hebrides and ended in 1746 in an April snowstorm on Culloden Moor.

CHAPTER II

THE ROMAN LEGACY

“He said it always puzzled him how so elaborate a civilisation as Roman Britain could have been destroyed utterly and left no mark on the national history beyond a few roads and ruins and place-names. The historian demurred, and had a good deal to say about how much the Roman tradition was woven into the Saxon culture. ‘Rome only sleeps,’ he said; ‘she never dies’.”—JOHN BUCHAN: *The Wind in the Portico*.

JULIUS CÆSAR first invaded Britain in 55 B.C.; by A.D. 80 the whole of England was in Roman hands; and the last Roman troops were not withdrawn until A.D. 410. The second interval, 330 years, takes us back from now to the reign of James I; it seems incredible that a people in possession of our country for so long a period should not have left a permanent reminder of themselves. The fact is that the civilisation which they brought with them was one neglected for a number of centuries by their successors, and in this intervening time much of what they had contributed perished in England from neglect. How far this is true we shall see in the chapter which follows, and later we shall see the justice of the statement that ‘Rome only sleeps; she never dies.’ Some ten and a half centuries after the conquest the Roman culture, if not the Romans, returned to England; this time permanently.

We cannot appreciate the Roman legacy without some small acquaintance with the facts of their occupation. It was never Rome’s intention to obliterate a people she found it necessary to conquer; her idea was rather the conferring upon them of the advantages of the Roman civilisation, to make a people less developed than themselves citizens of her great Empire and, their education advanced, to use them for that Empire’s good. They built with an eye to the future as well as on the present; in all their works there was a solidarity which bespeaks a calm confidence in their continued survival.

Britain was not conquered in a year, or in a few years. Once a natural frontier had been reached, say the line of the Severn valley, Mersey and Trent, protected by the marshes of the last two rivers and by forests such as those of Cheshire, the Peak, Charnwood and Sherwood, the land behind it already occupied was thoroughly developed on the Roman plan, a refuge if things went wrong in the future; thence, district by district, the remainder of the country was brought under Roman control. To this fact, in no small measure, belong the twin legacies of the Roman Occupation which come most easily to the mind: the towns and the roads.

The Celt and his predecessors, we said, were little able to make use of lowland sites. To the Roman, geographical obstacles were something to be overcome, early settlements had been on the hills, but the Roman's were where strategic or industrial or tonic advantages suggested to him the desirability of a city. In an unsettled district the first settlements were in the nature of a military camp; indeed, on their marches through a country where the inhabitants' submission had not yet been received, it was the Roman practice to dig a defensive ditch and earthwork, even though their resting-place was for a single night only. However, such a fortification, constructed after the day's march of from ten to twenty-four miles in eight hours, could not have been an elaborate one, and for the most part traces of them are lost. Weather and wind, worms and the plough of the farmer, gradually flatten out such ramparts. However, there are still in England, on the lines of the contemporary roads, traces of earthworks which suggest that their origin is a Roman one.

But with settlement of the country come permanent camps; district headquarters, we might almost call them. These were at York, the first of the IXth, the 'Spanish,' and afterwards of the VIth legion;¹ at Chester, which housed the XXth, the 'Valerian Victorious'; the base of the IIInd, the 'Augustan,' was first Gloucester and subsequently Caerleon-on-Usk. For a time Lincoln housed the 'Spanish' legion and Wroxeter on the Severn the XIVth, the 'Twin Martian'; this last legion was early withdrawn from Britain. The nomenclature of the Roman legions is suggestive of the organisation of the earliest

¹ A legion contained 5000-6000 infantry, and a few cavalry.

standing English army, when the various regiments possessed a numerical label such as the '42nd Foot' and the '5th Dragoon Guards,' with affectionate sobriquets which have naturally passed into history; the 'Black Watch,' the 'Greys,' etc. The work of constructing the permanent forts was done by the soldiers themselves: 'they were handy men in every way, engineers, workmen, masons, bricklayers, and brickmakers.'¹ The tiles they produced were examined, and occasionally stamped to show inspection of the work had been made. These tiles have remained for us to see, and the inspecting officer's stamp is upon them. Find a tile with *Leg. IX. Hisp.* upon it, and we know we have a record of work done by the 'Spanish' legion. It was the regular legionary soldier who built the Great Wall, far distant from his base, and the walls of two of these headquarters towns, Chester and York, became the lower part of some of the walls of the mediæval cities. Built into the wall at Chester are Roman tombstones.

But in addition to the temporary or major camps were the fortifications of the smaller garrisons, which were maintained to protect districts inhabited by the wild tribes of the North. These minor outposts were built and maintained not by Roman but by foreign troops drawn from all over the Empire; Frisians built Manchester and Melandra near Glossop, for example—inscribed stones and tiles record the fact.

The features of such forts persist in many of our oldest towns. The shape of the more ancient portion is grimly rectangular, the obvious outline of a defensive station, and the principal streets enter to cross at right-angles towards the central part of the enclosure. The plan of Chester provided (p. 53) makes plain the principle of the Roman camp, and shows how in outline it persists until the present day.

The Roman fort, the outlines of many of which have been exposed for us to study, varied in size from at least 130 acres to a single acre. Two or three acres would accommodate perhaps five hundred men. The average camp was probably not square, but with a breadth two-thirds that of the length. A street, the *via principalis*, divided it into two parts of unequal length; lengthwise a second street, the *via prætoria*, was terminated by the *prætorium*, the headquarters building, containing a shrine

¹ MORRIS AND JORDAN: *Local History and Antiquities*.

which housed the troops' standards, beneath which, in a massive vault, the pay-chest was secured. Storage and official buildings, and the quarters of the officers, surrounded the *prætorium*; elsewhere were the men's barracks, though while on the march, and in the minor forts or *castella*, they perhaps camped outside the walls or earthworks. Rome was for so long in occupation of a hostile land that the towns which owe their origin to military necessities are numerous; to some extent we may trace them by their names derived from the Latin *castra*, a camp, which has come down to us in various Anglicised forms, of which —*chester*, —*cester*, —*caster* are the most common. So we have Rochester and Winchester, Leicester and Alcester, Lancaster and Doncaster. But we should be wrong to say that a town which does not possess this *castra* derivation was of no importance in the Roman military scheme. In many cases the Celtic name or some version of it was retained, as in Exeter; Gloucester, which to the Celts was *Caer Glaw*, to the Romans, *Glevum*; St. Albans,¹ where the Celtic name known by the Romans as *Verulamium* was changed in later times to that of a local Christian martyr; York, the Roman *Eboracum*; and Ilkley, which the Romans called *Olicana* and which seems to be a Celtic-Saxon survival. Towns which became great centres of Roman civil life, as distinct from a military occupation, though they were of importance in the military scheme as well, still retain, though they may conceal, their Roman origin, like *Lindum Colonia*, the modern Lincoln, or Colchester, for which from the Celtic term the Romans made the title *Camulodunum*. When they built the Wall from the estuary of the Solway to that of the Tyne as a defence against the wild tribes of Scotland, they called its eastern extremity *Segedunum*, not a Latin version of the descriptive name which the town bears to-day, Wallsend. They knew the hot springs of Bath, where rheumatic generals and governors went to take the waters, and by the name of the waters, *Aquæ Sulis*, they knew it.

Yet it cannot be said that all towns with the —*castra* termination preserved in the modern name are on the sites of Roman forts; at least, not of permanent ones. We do not know with

¹ But mediæval (and modern) St. Albans is not on the site of the Roman town; the mediæval road to the north was diverted to run by the shrine of the martyred St. Alban.

certainly the situations of the Roman forts which grew up in the time of the first stages of the conquest of England as opposed to the age of settlement; they may have been occupied for a short time only, but evidence of Roman work may have sufficed to cause the Anglo-Saxons to tack on —*ceaster* to the rest of the settlement's name.¹ Worcester, for example, would appear to have been of slight importance in Roman days, yet doubtless a temporary military station was required here when the Celtic tribes of Wales were being attacked about A.D. 50. Naturally, too, the Romans, if it suited them to do so, made use of the existing Celtic and pre-Celtic camps.

York, Chester and Caerleon-on-Usk, with Lincoln and Gloucester temporarily so, were the chief military centres of Roman England, and here and in the sites of the *castellæ* we look for the chief legionary remains. Of the principal civil as opposed to military settlements, the *coloniæ*, the colonies, come first, four in number: Colchester, Gloucester, Lincoln and York, the last on the opposite bank of the river Ouse from that on which the military fortress stood. Here, first of all, came the veteran time-expired soldiers of the Empire, when the Celtic inhabitants were expelled; later came traders and ordinary civil residents, and, with the settlement of the country, submissive Celts on whom, as on all the other inhabitants, full Roman citizenship was conferred. The *colonia* was self-governing; so was the *municipium*, a word which is practically untranslatable; but the *municipium* was a town from which the native inhabitants were not expelled. The only known example in England is *Verulamium* (St. Albans). Celtic tribal headquarters also became Roman towns; Silchester (Berkshire), Winchester, Exeter, Caerwent (Monmouthshire), Wroxeter, Caistor (Norfolk), Chichester, Leicester, etc. Not every town was rectangular in shape. Some, notably Silchester, had more than four sides; natural boundaries, such as a river, prescribed the limits of others. But most have the streets running straight and at right angles to each other, with the *basilica* or justice hall and the *forum* or market-place at approximately the centre of the town. Round the three sides of the *forum* not occupied by the *basilica* were arcaded footpaths, with shops to their rear.

¹ The Saxons called Bath *Akemanceaster*, the 'sick man's fort,' but Bath was never of military importance.

Besides the private and official residences, the quarters of the garrison (if any), and the warehouses, temples and public baths would be inside the walls. The material of the Roman town walls naturally varies with the district; a local guide-book usually specifies the particular substances used for the individual town, and the working thereof. At a comparatively late date in the history of the Roman Occupation bastions, projections flanking an entrance gateway or giving a wider field of fire than that obtained from the walls themselves, were added to a town's defences. London, Colchester, Pevensey and Burgh Castle on the Norfolk-Suffolk border possess good examples.

It is often forgotten that London was a Roman town, the home of the Treasury, though neither *colonia* nor *municipium*. The first London Bridge was probably Roman, built slightly to one side of the present spanning of the Thames which bears this name; London Wall, which remained the Wall of mediæval London, over three miles long and enclosing 380 acres (an area half as large again as that of the next biggest British town), was rebuilt round about A.D. 200. It formed a semi-circle with the Thames as base, running from just east of the Tower of London northwards by way of Jewry Street and Camomile Street (Houndsditch was perhaps the moat beneath the wall), then westwards by what is still called London Wall, and turns southwards to cut through the middle of Ludgate Hill to meet the river a little downstream from Blackfriars Bridge. Newgate, Aldgate and Bishopsgate unquestionably were gates in the Roman Wall, though the names are not of Roman origin.

Outside some of the Roman towns are found amphitheatres, but since the population of no town in Britain was large enough to warrant a stone-built amphitheatre such as can be seen on the Continent, again wind and weather may have levelled the terraced seating and so removed it from our gaze. But the amphitheatres where games and circuses were held are preserved outside the Roman towns of Dorchester, Silchester, Caerleon-on-Usk, Cirencester and Richborough, and that of Chester is in process of excavation.

Mediæval or modern towns having taken the place of most of the Roman cities, the remains of houses inside a town's walls

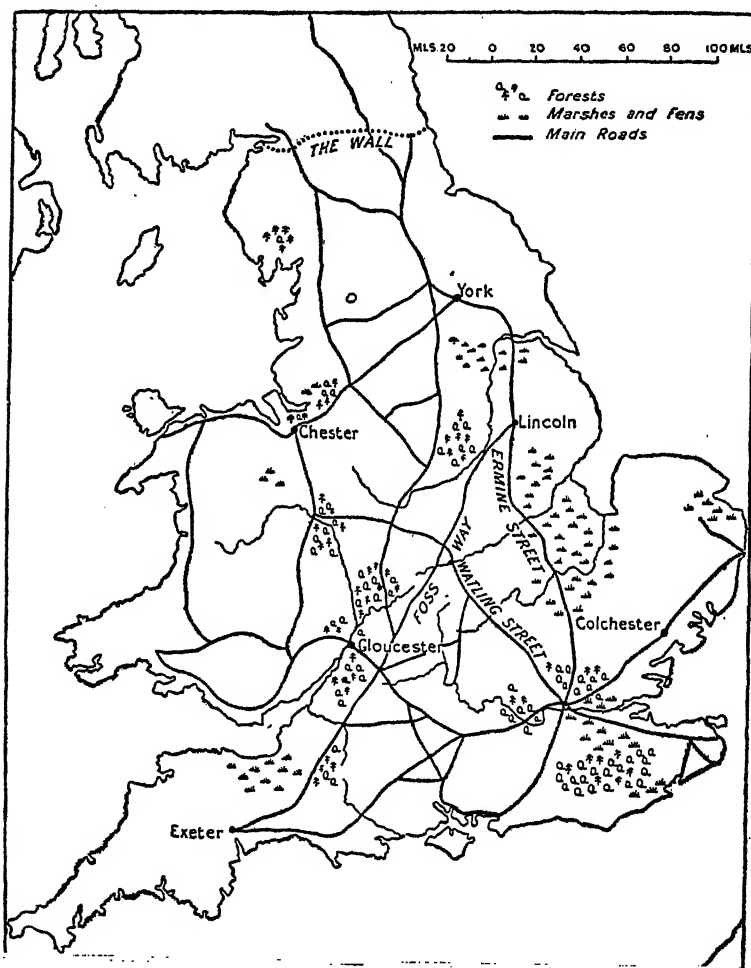
are not easy to find, and everywhere successive generations of inhabitants see in the stones which form the buildings of their predecessors convenient material for the construction of their own. But here and there we may find, as at Silchester (which escaped a more modern successor), the Roman town-house in a fair state of preservation, and in the rural districts the Roman or Romano-Celtic country-house, the *villa*, with its farm buildings close by. They are not, strictly speaking, Roman in type, for they are not four blank walls surrounding an open courtyard, but rather long narrow buildings bordered by a corridor, though four of these do occasionally enclose a space far larger than that of the customary Italian courtyard. The invariable bath and heating apparatus are an impressive tribute to what a southern European feels is the raw misty climate of England.

The Roman ports to which the ships of the Continent came were, of necessity, mostly on the south and east coasts, with Richborough in Thanet as the chief. Reculver, Dover, Lympne, Bitterne near Southampton, were the most important others; very late in the Occupation, when Saxon pirates were beginning to raid the coast, sea-forts had to be built, and the IInd legion transferred from Caerleon to Richborough. Nine defensive stations were placed under the command of an official known as the 'Count of the Saxon Shore,' including the new garrison-towns of Brancaster in Norfolk, Burgh Castle on the Suffolk-Norfolk border, Bradwell in Essex, Pevensey in Sussex and Porchester in Hampshire, and the four ports mentioned above.

Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire in A.D. 324, and there is evidence to show that early in the fourth century the Church was well organised. But, since the Anglo-Saxon invaders sacked the Roman cities, they probably obliterated the temples of a religion in opposition to their own paganism with spectacularly intensive assault. Remains of Roman Christian churches there may be in various parts of England; only at Silchester can we with certainty say that the structure of a Roman church has been apparent.

To the Roman his roads were of paramount importance. He had come to England to make a profit from her mines and cornfields as well as to prevent her natives from helping their continental relations in revolts against the Roman authority; he

needed good direct roads by which British exports might quickly be transported to the sea-coast for shipment abroad. The garrisons of the forts and the people of the towns desired the agricultural produce of the countryside and supplies from overseas; it was permanently necessary to move troops in large bodies from one district to another to assist in suppressing local



ROMAN BRITAIN

The chief roads, forests and marshes have been indicated. The difference between the courses of the Roman roads and some of the modern trunk roads (e.g. the Bath Road or the Great North Road) is at once apparent.

rebellions or to extend the boundaries of the conquest. Rome, as she extended her boundaries, despatched her garrisons to the limits of her territory. Roads had to be made thither from the points of concentration; along which could pass the troops detailed to push forwards into enemy country, and over which reinforcements, of men, arms, and provisions, could be sent to an otherwise isolated force. Military considerations seem at this point first to influence the story of English roads; the Roman roads run straight;¹ they follow a course which permits of the passage of a considerable force; they are constructed to *last* and to endure the constant passage of shod feet and wheeled traffic.

The influence of economic considerations quickly follows. The lead mines of Peak and Mendip, the potteries of Castor, the slave-marts of Chester, the cornfields of East Anglia, must, if they are to be profitable, have easy access for their goods both to the coast for export abroad and to those inland towns which need their products. Rheumatic warriors and civil servants, their warm southern blood chilled by the fogs and downpours of Britain, must have some easy way by which to transport their household comforts to the spa of Bath. Merchants and merchants' representatives must without profit-diminishing waste of time be able to travel from London to Lincoln and from Leicester to Exeter. Within a comparatively few years Britain was covered with a network of roads; the few trunk routes and the local tracks were no longer the inhabitants' sole means of communication. But marsh and forest remained an obstacle to progress, determining the courses of many of the roads, and military and economic considerations rather than social predominated.

The Romans were skilled in the art of making a road which, well laid and drained and stone-paved, could scorn the mud of the valley lands and of the rainy mountain, so there was no need for them to adopt the old Celtic tracks *unless it suited them to do so*, but forest and marsh remained something of an obstacle to them, as we can see from the map on p. 74, which shows the principal Roman roads and their avoidance of these natural difficulties.

¹ But they run straight not only because a straight line is the shortest distance between two fixed points—speed of movement is an essential to military success—but because the engineers selected a distant landmark and directed the road towards it. Roman roads follow, for the most part, a series of straight lines.

Well-preserved specimens of Roman roads are not easy to find in modern England, for in the course of time soil and grass have obliterated them, while in many cases later roads have followed the same course, so that the Roman work lies beneath the present surface. The indication of a 'Roman road' on a great many maps can still not always be trusted, for in the eighteenth century English archæologists were deceived into accepting as genuine a contemporary forgery which pretended to give an itinerary of the roads of Roman England and the stations through which they passed. Unfortunately, before this 'Itinerary,' supposed to have been discovered in the form of a copy made by an imaginary mediæval monk of Westminster, 'Richard of Cirencester,' was proved to be an invention, much of its 'information' had got on to the map of England, and it has not yet altogether been removed. But we do possess a genuine 'Itinerary,' perhaps of the third century A.D., which gives the line of fifteen roads. We can often find a green or stony track which from its directness and its line, either between two known camps or halting-places or between prominent features of the landscape such as the Romans loved to use as guides for a new road, suggests a Roman origin. If we find it is also a county or a parish boundary, suspicion is increased, for the Anglo-Saxons tended to reside away from the line of the Roman roads, which makes the deserted highways admirable visible boundaries.¹

A road was made by throwing up the earth from ditches dug on either side of its course, and on this earth a further ridge was made of successive layers of stones, broken stones mixed with lime (almost concrete), hard dust mixed with lime and stamped down firm, and finally paving-stones four to five inches thick cemented together. Obviously such a road, the surface of which was rounded, the edges being lowest, would easily drain off moisture from rain or snow or fog. This would be the best type of road; others might have gravel, flints and chalk in their composition. Grooves were cut at the sides to facilitate wheeled

¹ The day after I wrote this, I found on a ridge above a marsh a mile of sunken grass-and-stone lane, almost straight, and on a line joining *Trimontium* (Newstead near Melrose) and Rowchester. Below it were artificial mounds and ditches just where an advancing force would halt beneath the pass between the Eildon Hills. A few hundred yards away was a small farm; its name proved to be Chesterhall. I mention this merely as an example of how one stumbles on antiquities, without claiming for it a Roman origin.

traffic.¹ When marshy ground had to be crossed, timber and brushwood were sunk as a foundation, just as they were in the construction of many a modern railway track. Fords might be stone-paved, and stone bridges, or planks laid on stone piers, may have existed.

Quite apart from the traces of their roads which survive to the present time, the routes the Romans chose have in many cases never been improved upon, and, connecting as they do many of the largest towns of to-day, bear witness to the adequacy of the Romans' choice of town-sites. The principal road of Roman England, the road which runs from the sea-coast to London and then by way of Wroxeter to Chester, is still known as the Watling Street, and never changes its name after the first few miles of the Edgware Road. In its more northerly stages the route of their Great North Road has hardly altered at all, and the traveller by it to Carlisle still leaves it just beyond the Roman station at Catterick to turn north-westwards by way of Bowes and the Eden valley. A glance at the map might suggest why no main Roman road follows the southern line of the present Great North Road. Often enough it seems that where the population was small and the military posts few, the Romans did not trouble to construct a properly metalled road, but merely used the old Celtic tracks; for example, in Devon and Cornwall we find Roman milestones, but no trace of paved 'streets.' The *strata*, the Roman paved roads, are responsible for numerous English place-names to-day, which originate, if not date completely, from the time of the Roman occupation. There are a good many Stratfords in England, for where a paved ford crossed the river is exactly where we should find a town; and we could almost deduce the existence of a Roman road from a name like Stretton. The word is not unknown a couple of thousand feet up in the hills, for there is High Street in the Lakeland mountains, the way by which "sweated the drafts from the south, out of Ambleside over to Penrith in the Eden valley, and so to Carlisle, and the Wall." ²

The roads have preserved the Roman tongue in the present

¹ George Stephenson took the gauge for his first railroad from the distance between the ruts of a Roman road.

² COLLETT: *The Changing Face of England*.

English language. The Romans measured them in thousands of paces, *milia passuum*, from which we get the word 'mile,' and 'toll' dates from the same period. So does the inch, the *uncia* or twelfth part. Traders travelled the roads, and left their Latin speech to us in our time; a trader was *mango*, which we retain in such words as fishmonger and costermonger; *mule* and *ass*, on which their burdens were carried, are from the Latin, and so is the *chest* in which their money (Lat. *moneta*) was safeguarded. Money is still £ s. d. to us, retaining the initials of *librum* (pound), *solidus* (shilling) and *denarius* (penny). The Roman or original Latin influence on the modern English language was similar to that which we shall find following the Norman Conquest (p. 115); the words they gave us which have remained to become part of our modern speech are largely those of common necessities, of luxuries, and of administration of a people. Thus *vinum*, *butyrum*, *caseus* have produced the English *wine*, *butter*, *cheese*. From the milder south they bore to a bleak and pine-clad Britain the fruits and trees of the Mediterranean, the vine, the cherry, the pear, the beech, and perhaps the chestnut, sycamore and laurel. The Roman figures we still use, though they have almost disappeared from our milestones, on the faces of clocks and watches, in chemists' prescriptions, and, by convention, in books for the numeration of chapters. In case their structure seems puzzling to the reader, IV takes up less room and is less laborious to write than IIII. It is simply the Roman way of saying V minus I, as IX is X minus I.

After the roads and the towns which excavation has laid bare for us, the Roman Wall comes most easily to the mind. The Roman passion for definition drew in the form of a ditch a line from Solway to Tyne which in all probability marked the frontier of the Province of Britain, about which frontier there could be no argument, for the defining ditch was there for all to see. Beyond it was built a wall of hewn stone, strengthened with forts, fifteen in number, or one to about every five miles. Description of the majesty of it, even in its ruin to-day, is well-nigh impossible; one can only wish that everyone could first read Kipling's stories of it in *Puck of Pook's Hill* and then walk its length, though it is by no means continuously apparent.

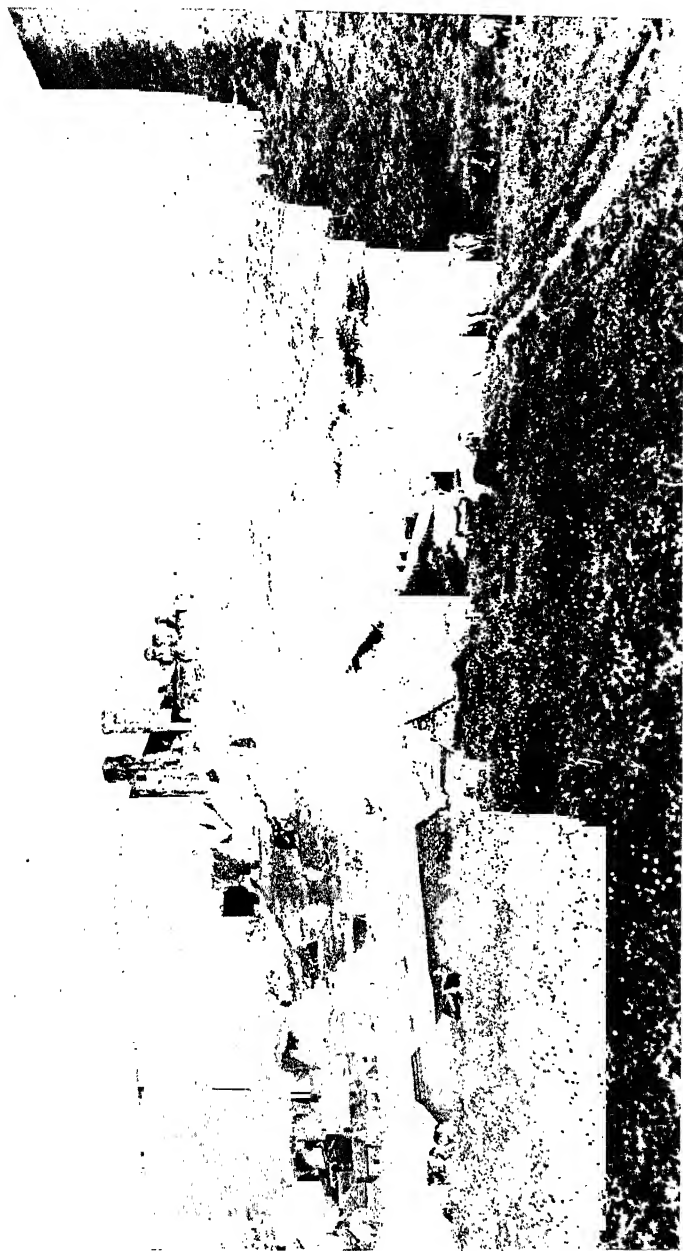
Second in the memory come the baths, the public baths which were felt to be a necessary adjunct to every Roman

town and private country residence. Most fittingly they can be seen in their most highly preserved state at Bath, but the heating arrangements, whereby heat from a central fire passed up hollow pillars of stone, may be seen in many places—one takes the eye as the railway line to North Wales leaves the city of Chester, and, unknown to many Londoners, a bath, perhaps Roman, may be seen a few feet below the present level of the Strand. The ploughshare and the spade bring to light immense quantities of Roman coins, and their altars also, both those dedicated to their gods and virtues and also those erected in memory of some particular piece of personal good fortune or preservation from danger. Here and there, in the pleasant English countryside a little apart from the roads and towns, remain the fragments of their *villæ* or country houses, demonstrating the luxuries with which they sought to make exile from home or the crudeness of a still largely Celtic Britain tolerable; stretches of the magnificent tessellated mosaic pavement which floored their rooms remain for our admiration, of which two of the best examples may be found at Bignor in Sussex and at Colchester.

Even if we reduce on the grounds of exaggeration the 70,000 people who are supposed to have perished in the massacres at London, St. Albans and Colchester in Boudicca's revolt to thirty or forty thousand, the number of civil towns and military stations and *villæ* suggests a large population, and it is at first difficult to see why so little which is Roman displays itself obviously as a survival. The chief reason is that when Rome was torn by internal disorders and threatened by the barbarian, her soldiers and native-born citizens withdrew from the island almost to a man. The troops were recalled to help in the defence of the Empire; her citizens removed themselves before the menace of Pict and Scot and Saxon; though no doubt many of British birth and those soldiers who had retired on pension, marrying Celtic wives and carrying on small businesses in their retirement, remained behind. But to all practical purposes Rome withdrew and left behind the old Celtic population over whom a veneer of Roman civilisation had been thinly spread, and the Celtic tribes whom Rome had subjected but hardly civilised; these were early in conflict with the peoples of Scotland and the Anglian, Saxon and Jutish raiders from

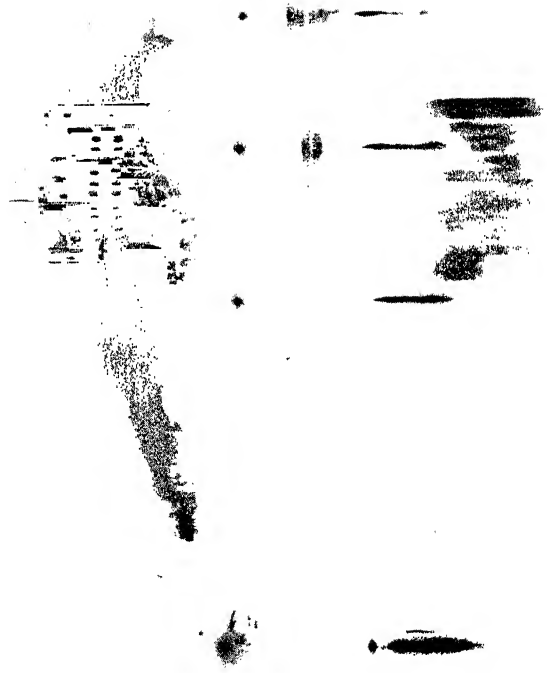
North Germany. If the veneer did not immediately wear off, the Roman tradition was in time bound to die, and deprived of its example the Celtic peoples seemed to have relapsed into a disorganised state, characteristic of this people under such circumstances. The Anglo-Saxon Conquest of England was a whole-hearted affair which drove the Celt to his mountain fastnesses of the west, and the conqueror, a despiser of the Roman organisation and culture to which he had never been subjected, made his settlements and homes outside the main lines of Roman civilisation. The cities and works of Rome he viewed with a suspicious dread; as potential rallying-points of the Celts they doubtless suffered destruction by fire and plunder. So the great towns decayed in ruinous heaps and the roads which connected these now isolated ruins languished and reverted to grass and weeds. An England which, as part of the Roman Empire, had become Christian when Christianity became the official religion of the Empire, forgot its ecclesiastical culture, and it seems as if it had always been in part pagan, for when St. Germanus crossed from the continent late in the fifth century he had to baptize converts by the thousand. It was not the custom to re-christen those who had lapsed into heathendom and sought re-acceptance into the Christian fold; the influence of the Church had probably not penetrated beyond the more thickly-populated centres.

But the influence of the Christian Church, at any point prior to the close of the Middle Ages, should not be overestimated. Especially in the parts of the land remote from continental influence, and in the rural and less progressive districts, the 'Craft of the Wise,' the 'Old Religion' of which Mithraism—the religion characteristic of the Roman legions—and Druidism are but two aspects, was a very real force. Throughout the long period it was the educated and ruling classes who alone were truly Christianised: the mass of the common people, if outwardly Christian, held in secret to the older nature religion, which in time became equated with 'witchcraft,' persistent in remote places into modern times. How much of its theory and practice long survived, and with what intensity, may be estimated by those familiar with what is classed as 'popular myth and superstition,' and the volume and strength of the tradition. To those unfamiliar with the facts, it may come as a



CORFE CASTLE

"If a hill was handy . . . that determined the castle-site" (p. 118.)



THE KEEP, ROCHESTER CASTLE

"The whole building is dominated by a central keep, square and massive" (p. 122.)

surprise to know that an excellent case can be established for treating the deaths of William Rufus and Thomas à Becket as ritual murders, the slaughter of the Priest-King for the sake of his people, and that the familiar Arthurian story of the Holy Grail is not of Christian origin.

Despite its duration, and the elaborate and advanced nature of its culture, the Roman legacy is here perhaps the least obvious of all. The exhibits in museums—the glass, door-locks, balances, surgical instruments, and so on—will serve to demonstrate how rich and akin to our own it was. But the essence of Rome may well go almost unnoticed as we travel the country. For foundations are by their very nature hidden from sight, and it is to the foundations of things that we must look for the legacy of Rome. Despite the triumph of the barbarian which followed the retreat of Rome, the foundations remained when the superstructure crumbled, and on these solid and impervious outlines other men built.

The Roman language faded, the Roman church survived in the Celtic refuges, the Roman law, and indeed all law, practically disappeared from the island. Yet the Roman influence in these three directions is very strong in England to-day; for 'Rome never dies.' A time was to come when Rome, in a new guise, was to return and take hold of England.

CHAPTER III

THE ANGLO-SAXON LEGACY

“ Over the graves of the Druids and over the wreck of Rome
Rudely but deeply they bedded the plinth of the days to come.
Behind the feet of the Legions and before the Northmen's ire,
Rudely but greatly begat they the body of state and shire.
Rudely but greatly they laboured, and their labour stands till
now . . . ”

RUDYARD KIPLING: *The King's Task*.

THE Anglo-Saxon Conquest was undertaken, not as the Roman one had been, under the direction of a single commander, but by isolated war-bands seeking plunder and new homes, and it seems probable that the earliest arrivals sent for reinforcements from overseas. The newcomers were of three races: the Jutes, who colonised parts of Hampshire; the Saxons, who originally occupied the south; and the Angles (it is believed that the entire Angle population left their German territory), who landed on the coast from Suffolk to the Roman Wall. England is Angle-land, despite the fact that we are more inclined to think of England as Saxon. The character of the Conquest should be remembered: with relentless swiftness the raids stormed across England to the Severn and the Dee, but these were mere temporary expeditions, and the resistance of the Romano-Celtic Britons, under such leaders as have survived in legend as King Arthur, was a stout one, so that it was a couple of hundred years before the invaders were in full possession of the majority of the country. The legend of King Arthur and of his Knights of the Round Table, to which reference will be made again in the chapters dealing with mediæval England, is a persistent and widespread one. If all the stories extant could be believed, this heir of Rome, this champion of Christendom against the heathen invader (one writer makes him fight *against* the Romans), ranged the country from Edinburgh to Cornwall by way of Cumberland and Somerset. Probably there *was* an Arthur (it is both a Celtic

and a Latin name, meaning perhaps 'the bear'), who generalised his countrymen against the advance of the Saxon pirates, but the deeds of many men may in course of time have been fostered on an individual. Legend makes him victorious in twelve battles, the greatest being that of the Badon Mount, *Mons Badonicus*, which we cannot identify except to say that it is at one of the gateways to the west country. The Arthurian cycle of stories, later edited by Malory in the fifteenth and Tennyson in the twentieth centuries, mainly connect with the hero Tintagel, his birthplace, and Camelot, his principal palace. 'Arthur's Castle' at Tintagel is, however, no earlier than the Norman period, and Camelot certainly cannot be identified. There is Queen's Camel in Somerset and nearby a Celtic fort, Cadbury Castle, but the derivation of 'Camel' is from *Camul*, a British war-god, and there is no reason for suggesting this was Arthur's palace, even though it is close to Glastonbury, the other locality most closely connected with the Arthurian cycle. Glastonbury, rising out of the meres, is no doubt the Isle of Avalon of legend, to which Arthur was borne to die, but. Camelot, if it ever existed, may be anywhere in the west. Caerleon-on-Usk as well as Cadbury claims the honour of its site. We possess, in truth, hardly one solid fact about the long period when Saxon and Celt were in conflict for the mastery of England; we may be grateful for the romantic legends the struggle inspired, but to no place can we point with certainty and say, 'Here, in that first phase of the long-drawn warfare which lasted a couple of centuries, the Celt successfully defended his home or the Saxon invader broke the Celtic resistance.'

Saxon success was hardly assured until two warrior-kings, Cerdic of the West Saxons and Æthelfrith of the Northumbrian Angles, each intent on securing and extending the kingdom he had carved out, signally defeated the Celts, the first at Dyrham near Bath, the latter somewhere outside Chester. The latter victory has left us one story: to pray for a Christian Celtic triumph came the abbot and monks of Bangor-ys-Coed, Bangor in the wood, on the river Dee, to be massacred to a man for their presumption. Of Bangor, which once housed two thousand monks and more, little now remains but the name. Dyrham and Chester cut off all communication between the Celt of West Wales (Cornwall and Devon) and those of the

lands to the west of the Severn, and between these and their kindred of the Cumberland and Westmorland mountains. Æthelfrith's victory at *Daegsastan* (site not known; perhaps somewhere in Liddesdale, just over the present Scottish border) destroyed the possibility of an alliance between the tribes of Scotland and those driven westwards from England, and drove the Celt to the remote west Scottish hills and mountains. The Celt was expelled from England for ever; he who had failed to escape to a mountain fastness where the Angle or the Saxon had no desire to follow became the slave or the victim of the conquering pagan. How complete before the seventh century the destruction of the Britons was we cannot say; if the instance of the sack of *Anderida* (Pevensey)—'nor was there one Briton left alive'—is not an isolated one, it may have been almost total except in those regions mentioned: Cornwall and Devon, Wales, Cumberland, and the Fens and the Chilterns as well, to which they fled and where the Anglo-Saxons could not pursue and exterminate them.

- The conquest of a district complete, a form of development followed of a type which England had not previously seen. The Roman legacy, as we have said, was not made use of (the Roman roads did not, from their nature, always run over suitable farming-land), but the Angles and Saxons reproduced the variety of settlement which they had known in Germany, that of the small village with all its dwellings close to each other, and which remains characteristic of England even till to-day. From the nature of a village we can more or less trace whether it is of Celtic or of Anglo-Saxon origin; if the latter, it is compact and obviously a unit in the national scheme, if the former, it consists of groups of cottages and farms spread over a wide area in small clusters, so that there is no obvious village, though a certain agglomeration of distinct hamlets calls itself a village. As Maitland pointed out, a glance at the Ordnance Map for, say, the Somerset and Devon border will best show the type of the Celtic village survival.

This English organisation has never been displaced. Our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, when peace succeeded war, were farmers for the most part; moreover, they had a strong tradition of organisation based on the family or group of families; perhaps without, strictly speaking, individual holdings,

but cultivating a considerable area by their united efforts and for a common purpose. Neither the downland settlements of the Celts and their predecessors nor the towns of the Romans were of much use in such a scheme, so the Anglo-Saxon settlements were in places largely undisturbed previously, and, whether they had names or not, were titled by their Teutonic masters.

Two hundred years of conquest, a further couple of centuries of undisturbed occupation, two hundred and fifty more years of connection with Northman and Dane, is a long period, and it is no wonder that we think of the English countryside as primarily Anglo-Saxon. Nor did the Norman Conquest greatly disturb the village names, for the Normans, except as their rulers, had small interest in the Anglo-Saxon population, and concerned themselves little with the village life of the previous occupants. So we can be prepared to find that most of our village names are Anglo-Saxon, and to a great extent those of our towns as well, for some villages grow into towns. Think of the enormous number of places with names of the type of Stillingham and Cardington, the *ing* representing 'the people of,' and the whole name 'the settlement of the people of Anglo-Saxon names which have become Still or Card.' Run a finger down a column of a gazetteer and count the place-names ending in *ham* or *ton*. It is an extraordinary proportion, for *ham* means farm or estate, *tūn* first enclosed piece of ground, then farm, then village; they recall the early family or individual settlements of Anglo-Saxon newcomers. Such familiar words as *hill* and *field* are by origin Anglo-Saxon. A people breaking new ground, by means of forest clearings or by taking up residence on the banks of a stream, contributed in addition dozens of terminations and prefixes which have survived in our English place-names: *lea* or *ley*, which indicates a meadow or clearing; *stede* or *stead*, a place, which in some cases becomes *hempstead*, a homestead, like Hemel Hempstead or Berkhamsted; *worth*, an enclosure, as in Highworth. *Ford* may be a river-crossing, but equally may be a defensive point, producing *fort*. *Hurst* and *holt* indicate the settlements in or near a wood. The forest clearings sometimes derived their names from the characteristic local tree, the ash or birch or oak, and so we have to-day Ashton and Birkenhead and Acton or oak-farm, and a mass of place-names which themselves contain

the word 'wood.' The river settlements provide certain characteristic names, *ey*, an island, as in Sheppey or Ramsey, particularly in the Fens, where once they rose from the ooze and mere; *weale*, well, a spring; *burn*, a brook; *lade*, a stream, as in Cricklade and Lechlade; *pill*, a pool (but this is very close to the Celtic *pwll*); *flet* or *fleet*, a creek, as in Northfleet or Fleetwood, and *borne* or *bourne*, a small stream. In the downs of the south-west we find a whole collection of Winterbournes, recalling the chalk streams which ran in winter when the ground was saturated by the autumn rains, but which the heat of the sunshine or a fall in the water-level caused to dry up in summer.

To the Anglo-Saxons we owe the names of the cardinal points of the compass, which they used to distinguish one village from another; the Nortons and Suttons are the north-*túns* and south-*túns*, Aston and Weston denote the *túns* to the east and west of a particular point. In time the boundaries between the various peoples had to be drawn, and so we get place-names derived from *maer* and *shore*, both of which mean 'boundary,' and from *stan*, the stone which marked the boundary; for example, Mere and Pershore and Stanhope. But it has already been pointed out that the science of place-names is a difficult one, and that suggesting a derivation from the obvious appearance of the word is an unsafe one; the only possible way is to trace the ancient spellings in old documents and records. Stockport seems obviously 'the port on the river Stock' or 'the *stoch* or stockaded fort'; but the old spelling of Stockport is *Steapa*; a somewhat younger pronunciation, which persists till to-day with the local Cheshire men, Stopford or Stopport. We cannot possibly guess derivations from present-day spellings or pronunciation; for example, we might connect 'mere' with a lonely reedy pool instead of with a boundary, and in a place-name like Imber we certainly should not guess the origin unless we knew that much earlier it was called *Imemerie*, Ymmer's *maer* or boundary. In the same way *ald* or *eld* suggest the alder tree, but are properly 'old'; 'hall' is a familiar term, but has not necessarily anything to do with a dwelling-house but rather with *hele* or *hale*, a nook; cheap or *chepe* is a legacy from the verb which meant 'to buy and sell.' But a place like Chippenham, though it may well thus be 'market place,' may equally be from a personal name, Ceappa's farm.

A cursory glance at a few place-names will show how many owe their origins to Anglo-Saxon England. Charlton is the 'farm of the *ceorls*,' or members of the lower class as opposed to the nobility; Bradford is *braden* or broad ford; *treu*, surviving as *trow*, like Trowbridge or Hallatrow, means both 'cross' and 'tree,' for the Cross was a tree of wood. We find 'ports' where there was never a river navigable by ships or the sea, as Dudley Port and Milborne Port, for 'port' may be a proper name or a market town as well as a place for despatching and receiving merchandise by water. *Dene*, den, a hollow, has come straight into modern speech, and so has *heath*, though it appears somewhat curtailed when we meet it as Hatfield.

The names of their pagan gods whose worship they brought with them to England have survived in the Anglo-Saxon place-names. Wednesbury and Wednesfield remember Woden or Odin, their principal deity, and Thor lives yet in names like Thurstaston and Thorley. Perhaps Balderstone and Frickley are similar survivals of the deities Balder and Fricka: but we are never quite sure, in dealing with these gods, whether they are of Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavian origin, for both peoples shared a similar religion.

A rapid survey of the essentials of the history of Anglo-Saxon England will suggest a number of its modern derivations. First the individual war-bands were occupied in coalescing into kingdoms, which strove the one with the other for mastery in the land. The political organisation of these kingdoms followed, and the conversion of their rulers to Christianity, first from Rome, and then, when a state still heathen, Mercia, wiped out Christianity in Northumbria, the lands north of the Humber, from the Celtic territories of Ireland and Western Scotland. A century and more of comparative stability was interrupted by the raids of the Northmen, the Vikings, who succeeded in obtaining half England for themselves, which the ultimate masters of all England, the West Saxons, reconquered in the tenth century. Again England came under Scandinavian mastery and formed part of a great northern empire, but the Saxon line was restored for some fifty years, when the land fell a prey to William the Norman and his continental followers.

One thing which we can say with absolute certainty that we owe to our Anglo-Saxon ancestors is the body of the

English language. It seems probable that Angles and Saxons and Jutes each spoke a tongue which was derived from a common source; the Angle probably could understand the Saxon without much difficulty, but the variety of dialect was considerable. That Anglian, in the form of the East Midland dialect, became the standard basis of English speech, was hardly accidental, for it was easier for a man from Northumberland and a man from Devon to understand it than it was for them to understand each other; the East Midlands were the half-way clearing house, and since London, always England's great commercial town, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, began very early to speak the East Midland dialect, ultimately it became the general speech. (That the speech of the United States is also so close to modern English is due to the fact that her earliest settlers came in the greatest quantities from the home of the Angles.) But the traces of dialect remain. The Celtic influence we have already mentioned, but the West Saxon speech remains in Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire, with the *z* for *s*, and *v* for *f*, producing 'zummer' and 'varmer'; the Sussex dialect remembers the continental connection and turns *t* or *th* to *d*, just as our 'the' is 'der' in Germany and our English 'thorpe,' a collection of dwellings, a 'dorp' in Dutch. There is great similarity between the speech of East Yorkshire and the Scottish borderlands and south-eastern coast, for both were peopled by the Anglian races; it is in Yorkshire that we find the broad vowels and emphatic consonants which are a characteristic of Anglian speech. Anyone who has heard a West Riding man speak of "makkin' braass" knows exactly what is meant by this. Just so the East Saxon speech survived in and about London till modern education did its best to produce uniformity of pronunciation;¹ we know the Cockney, the true East and Middle Saxon, by his 'fink' and 'abaht.'

The form of our language shows its Anglo-Saxon origin in its differences from the Romance tongues of Europe derived from the Latin spring. Philology can be the dullest of subjects, but we might perhaps pause to be grateful to a development which freed us from the task of remembering the gender of every noun we use, which discarded irrelevant repetitive forms and avoided our continually stressing our personal possession

¹ Broadcasting might quite possibly destroy nearly all dialect survivals.

by indicating that these beasts are '*my* horse and *my* dog,' and which produced the system by which the position of the word in the sentence demonstrates whether it is subject or object without relying on a complex scheme of inflections and cases. But Anglo-Saxon had a complicated system of genders just as modern European languages have to-day, declined its adjectives and nouns, and possessed irregular plural forms which have been retained in modern speech; the *-en* of oxen, children, the *oo* changing into *ee*, as in foot, feet, or tooth, teeth, or *ous* into *ic*, as mouse, mice, for example. But the developing English language, save as regards pronunciation, shook off most of the complications of its earliest form, and though it has been said that it takes a stranger three days to learn French and thirty years to learn English, the irregularities are not really numerous except as regards the above and odd participles, of the type exemplified by verbs with double past participles (shake, turning to *shook*, *shaken*), the *-en* ending existing in uncommon words like *graven* and *molten*, and 'exceptions' like catch, caught, and bind, bound.

The Angles and Saxons gave us the great majority of our vocabulary, and added richly to it when they came under the influence of Rome on the conversion of the tribes to Christianity. Christianity had its home first in Palestine and secondly in Greece, and the vocabulary necessitated by a new religion with new terms was drawn not only from the Latin tongue but from the Greek from which Rome had borrowed so many words. But the Anglo-Saxon peoples were not slavish imitators and borrowers, and translated many newly acquired terms into their own language; for example, God, heaven and hell. The central term of Christianity, the Cross, we find translated by the Anglo-Saxon *ród* or rood; 'cross' reminds us that when Penda of Mercia, helped by Welsh Christians bitterly opposed to the Angle newcomers, put an end to northern Christianity, Northumbria was reconverted by Celtic missionaries from Ireland and Iona, who from the Latin *crucis* produced 'cross.' Still, many of our ecclesiastical terms are derived from the Greek; for example, altar, disciple, epistle, hymn, and psalm. Another of our most familiar Church festivals again is pure Saxon, the feast which the church knows as Easter, taken from the name of the Saxon goddess of spring, *Eostre*.

When we are dealing with the second coming of Christianity to England, we have to remember that it came to the Angles and Saxons from two sources. The marriage of the French Christian princess Bertha to the King of Kent was the cause of the arrival of St. Augustine and his monks from Rome and the reason why Canterbury, the capital of Kent and the birth-place of permanent English Christianity, is the ecclesiastical capital of England. But Celtic hatred of the invader was such that the British Christians of Wales refused to have any dealings whatever with the Saxons, even when these became their co-religionists. Christianity was taken to the grim north when a Kentish princess married Edwin of Northumbria, to disappear when a still heathen king of Mercia, Penda, allied with Cadwallon, the Christian king of Wales, overran the northern lands and slew Edwin at Hatfield outside Doncaster. But what Wales had helped to undo Ireland and Scotland restored; Columba, an exiled Irish missionary, had founded a monastery on Iona off the west coast of Scotland, from which came Aidan and a band of preachers to reconvert Northumbria. The North has her sacred places of Christianity just as the South has Canterbury and Glastonbury; Holy Island or Lindisfarne off the Northumberland coast, Aidan's own church; Catterick on the Swale near Richmond, where before Aidan's coming Paulinus is supposed to have baptised thousands of converts in the day, and Yeavinger near Wooler, where the task of instructing and baptising the converts took him thirty-six consecutive days; Goodmanham outside York, where Coifi, Edwin's pagan archpriest, recommended national conversion to the new faith and himself set the example by breaking simultaneously a kind of heathen Ten Commandments.¹ For a time, and when heathen Mercia had been converted, the Celtic and Roman Christian Churches strove for the mastery in England (their differences produced the absurd situation of the king and his queen keeping Easter in altogether different weeks), but in 664 the wise decision was taken that the rule of Rome, the mother-church and by far the more influential of the two, should be acknowledged throughout England. The Celtic influence in the north, however, is still visible.

¹ Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Books II and III, is full of charming and vivid stories of early Christianity among the northern mountains and seas.

Corbridge, Escomb and Monkwearmouth each has an early and well-preserved church, and there are here and there crosses, or the shafts of crosses, with now worn and almost undecipherable carvings. The Bewcastle Cross in north Cumberland is perhaps the best known; Penrith has a famous monument, and at Sandbach in Cheshire are two obelisks commemorating the union of a Northumbrian prince with the daughter of the ancient enemy house of Mercia.

But the splendid later ecclesiastical growth which made her a centre of European culture and produced the magnificent abbeys and monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow and Lindisfarne, Peterborough and Croyland and Bardney, with their noble metalwork and embroidery and manuscripts, perished before the fury of the Northmen and the fires they kindled. We have difficulty in finding specimens of early Anglo-Saxon architecture; the best-known specimens are all of late date and belong to a period following the Viking descents upon England, and even then often only the tower remains of the original building, for the tower was a place of refuge and so the most solidly constructed part of the church. Most of the towers were belfried, from which was rung the signal for worship or of the approach of an enemy; most, at their angles, illustrate the characteristic work of the period, stones laid alternately horizontally and vertically. To find Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical building at its best and most complete we are confined to such churches as those of Bradford-on-Avon in Wiltshire, Brixworth and Earl's Barton in Northamptonshire, Barton-on-Humber in Lincolnshire, the abbey of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, and Bosham and Somington in Sussex. The Anglo-Saxons were, on the whole, not great stonemasons; they relied on wood for their buildings (their word for 'fortify' is 'timber-up'), and wood is more perishable than stone or brick. But at Greenstead in Essex we can see fairly well what the body of a Saxon church looked like, with its tree-trunks for pillars and mud walls plastered on to a framework of laths and planks. St. Paul's in London was an Anglo-Saxon foundation, but has been rebuilt many times following fire.

If the Northmen ruined the churches and abbeys, they inadvertently gave England something in their place. In

the years when the West Saxons and Mercians were reconquering the districts under Danish and Norse influence, they were forced to fortify old defensive points and to build new ones; these strongholds they knew as *burhs*, which we know as 'boroughs,' just as some of the old Celtic forts were known to the Saxons as *burys*. Thus we find Wellingborough and Shrewsbury and Warburton, Cissbury and Chanctonbury and Salisbury. Aldermanbury in London has nothing to do with these fortifications; this is the Saxon word used in its original sense of 'a residence.' The *burhs*, as created by Ælfred the Great, were largely new towns called into existence to help in the task of clearing central England from the Scandinavian, and they gave rise to what was almost England's first professional standing army. To each *burh* was apportioned land, though not so much physical land but rather the tax due from its holders; these either served in the garrison or contributed to the housing and feeding of the professional soldiers. Such soldiers became known as *cnichts*, though they were very different from the knights of the Middle Ages; at London and Cambridge and Exeter they formed clubs of their own, and the rules of some have been preserved. Apparently they had their drinking-bouts (the wine-tariff of the Exeter Gild is in existence) and 'morning-speeches' (were these dogmatic discussions of the political events of the day?); members were fined for failure to attend the meetings and for using bad language. As walled towns (though they were probably earthen and not brick or stone walls) the *burhs* became places of especial safety in which to reside or in which to hold a market; some rose to a prominence in English life which has never left them, like Oxford and Worcester; others, as they became no longer of military or economic importance, relapsed into the position of mere large villages, like Axbridge in Somerset and Cricklade in Wiltshire; later towns have taken the place of some, as in the case of Barnstaple, which has superseded Pilton in Devonshire. The course of a thousand years and more has left little of these fortifications visible, but while, as at Porchester, existing Roman work was utilised, and at Wilton and Tisbury in Wiltshire pre-Roman, the Saxon earthworks can be seen at Wareham in Dorset, Wallingford in Berkshire, Burpham and Bramber in Sussex, Sandwich in Kent, and in Bedfordshire; while in

the same county is a Danish camp at Tempsford, and at Willington, a Danish fortification on the river which was used in the attempt to reconquer Bedford from the Saxons, and for ships.

Both in its original form, the tongue we call Old English, and in the Latin which was the medium of the Church, the literature of the period is a rich one. A tradition of education arose in the schools attached to the monasteries and abbeys, a tradition which caused Charlemagne the Holy Roman Emperor to send for Alcuin from York to supervise the education of the Frankish empire and to which schools in existence to-day—St. Peter's, York, King's School, Rochester, and Sherborne, among others—the lineal descendants of the song schools, where the choir-boys were taught the elements of music and the novices the essentials of the Latin of the service-books and Bible, owe their origin. The earliest English text-book was produced during this period, compiled by Ælfric, who also left behind him descriptions of the familiar figures of his day; the carpenter or tree-wright, the blacksmith, and the agricultural worker. The Venerable Bede and others wrote commentaries on the canonical books, and Bede, in the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, produced a history which for careful accuracy remains a model for all time, while Caedmon, 'the father of English poetry,' and his successors sang 'the beginning of created things' and made metrical versions of the Old Testament stories. The ravages of the Northmen destroyed English learning: 'but so clean fallen away was learning now in the Angle race that there were few on this side of the Humber who would know how to render their service-book into English,' writes Ælfred, and it was his task to restore the glories of English scholarship. Asser wrote this great Englishman's biography: learning sufficiently interested a royal official like Ethelweard to cause him to compile a history of his native land; a beginning was made in the systematic upkeep of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which recorded from year to year the events of the realm. The tradition of the North European was in the direction of the epic poem, a recital of the deeds and kinship of some classic hero, and with the epic goes the narrative poem which finds its finest expression in such poems as the *Song of Brunanburh* or in *The Battle of Maldon*.

Meanwhile, in far distant Celtic lands, monks and abbots compiled the histories of their own countries and, as in the English *scriptoria*, produced the marvellously illuminated and decorated manuscripts of the Scriptures which may be seen to-day, such as the Irish Book of Kells or the English Lindisfarne Gospels.

A combined North German and Scandinavian pagan religion left us a legacy of stark Northern mythology. The Norse or Saxon gods might be met anywhere on earth, for they sought the company of human men; their handmaidens, the Valkyries, might be seen riding on steeds in the sky to choose those to be slain in battle, who, if they died worthily, would go to feast for ever with the high gods in Valhalla. When we cheer we may be recalling the Gods of the North; 'hurrah' is possibly a corruption of *Thor aie*—'Thor help us.' A people who inhabited such wild country not unnaturally imported the beasts into their folk-lore; we have the serpent Asgard who encircled the earth, Fenris the wolf who had to be slain by Vidar, and in early literature we read of the monster Grendel who dwelt among marsh and swamp and preyed on human flesh. The earth was only upheld by the giant ash-tree, Yggdrasil; and, just as their own life was so insecure by reason both of war and famine, so the gods themselves knew that in the end they would have to fight for their lives against the powers of Evil, and that the fight would be a losing one. The Norse mythology, which is the Saxon mythology intensified, is one of deep dark bloody fear; it is full of mis-shapen half-human objects, trolls and gnomes and dwarfs, witch-wives and wizards, prophesying the future and finding little but disaster and death in it, with every man's fate decided before his appearance on earth and the Norns ever waiting to snap the threads of his life with their shears. It is a grim stark legend, as befits such sea-wolves and warriors: a Celt full of the poetry of romance might call his sword 'Excalibur,' but it is impossible to mistake the frame of mind which would cause a Northman or his earlier Saxon cousin to christen his axe 'Hellspeed.'

We have gone a long way from those Saxons who first settled large tracts of our English land. They brought from the continent their system of agriculture, with the village land, outside the common pasture, divided into three great

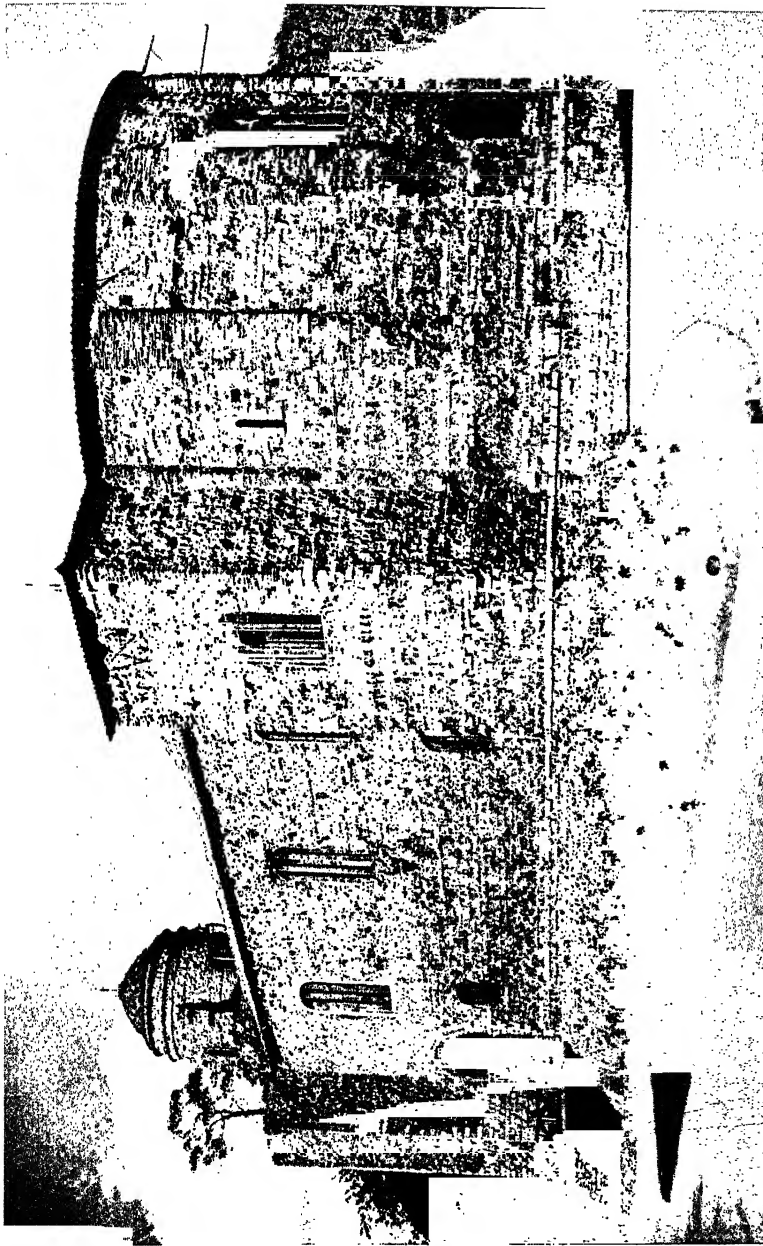
fields of which each year in turn two were cultivated and one lay fallow. The waste land on which no crops could be grown supplied some of their wants; the village pigs fed on beech-mast and acorns in the woods and the geese on the village green surrounded by the houses, the sheep and cattle were turned out to graze on what to-day we still often find as 'the common,' the land which was no one man's but common to all men's use. Nor were the fields as they are to-day, hedge-bordered and each individual property; the village farmed in common, each man contributed his ox or two to the plough-team of eight, each was responsible for the cultivation of his own strips, which were not lumped together but scattered over these open fields, so that one strip might be fertile and another stony or waterlogged. If the acre has nothing to do with the *agri* or fields, the furlong is the 'furrow-long,' the single journey of the plough-team, and is as English as the cricket-pitch which preserves one-tenth of the furlong's total length of 220 yards. What the *hid* was we still have failed to determine with exactitude, but that the hide was considered as the normal establishment necessary for the single family is probable; it may have varied from 40 to 120 arable acres with the fertility of a district, but five hides was the extent required for a *thegn's*, a regular soldier's dignity. So we find Fyfields in England, recalling this *fif hid* distribution.¹ So also we find such names as Thorpe-le-Soken and the Soke of Peterborough, for *sóc* means 'jurisdiction'; all the lands under a certain landowner's jurisdiction were lumped together, often by the convenient title of the chief village.

It is the necessity which Englishmen found for accumulating private property as distinct from property held in common and for registering in writing their title to the same which enables us to trace the story of our villages. The *land-books*, the charters by which kings confirmed grants of land to bishops and abbey and warriors and statesmen, the wills of these later landholders, give us much information about the boundaries of estates and their early names. Nothing has yet succeeded in taking the English village from us; though the

¹ But parts of the midlands and the north, particularly those under Danish influence, were 'carucated' and not 'hidated,' and here we get a 'six-carucate' and not a 'five-hide' unit. A carucate is probably the land which one team of eight oxen could plough each year.

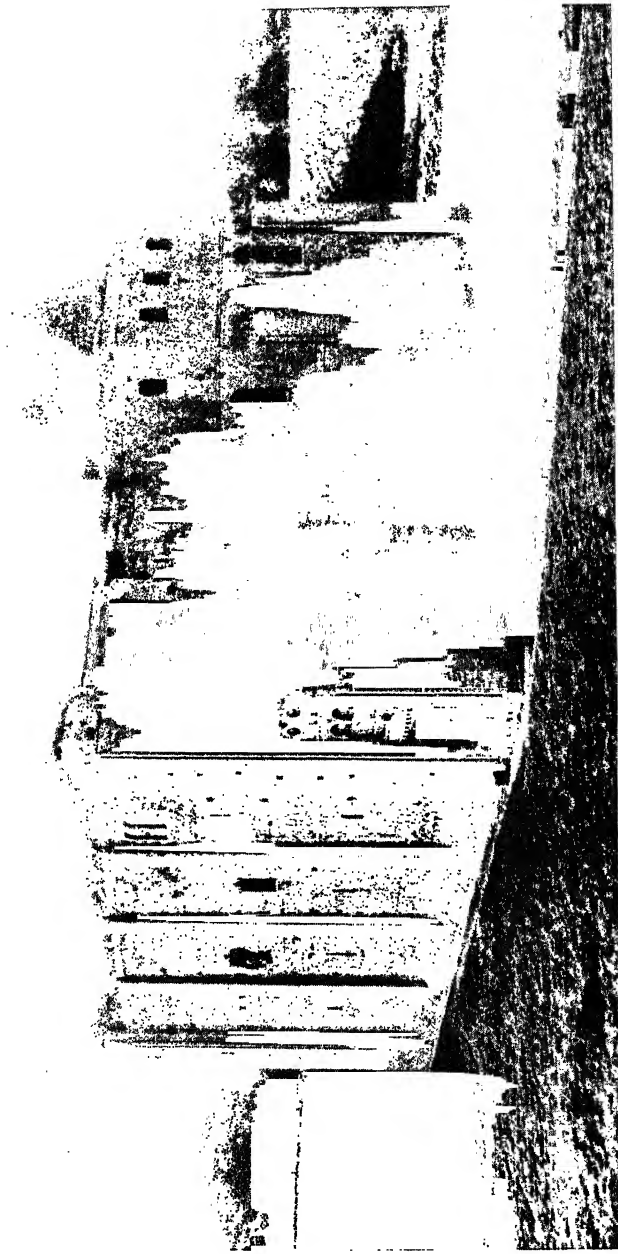
fields have been split between individual farms their names yet live; later in English history we hear of the battles of Chalgrove Field or Naseby Field. What are these but the common ploughlands of the villages of Chalgrove or Naseby?—you cannot have much of a battle among the village streets and alleys. Look at the Ordnance Map at any point where the villages nestle at the foot of the hills. These may be some distance away, but we find the village names repeated as the names of moors; they may have no obvious boundaries now, but once each man knew on what portion of the hills the sheep of Austwick or of Aysgarth village might feed. The typical English village is still in essentials an Anglo-Saxon village, the houses encircling the village green with the fields stretching away outside to the woods and hills; the green may contain a pond where the draught-horses drink and the ducks swim, while by the stream stands the mill and above it lie the meadows whence the hay for winter was won and in which, in winter, the cattle grazed. Brooding over all, raised a little on ground which offers some small protection against flood or the enemy, stands the village church, though it may not be so old as to contain in its walls the typical Anglo-Saxon long-and-short work. It would be useless to pretend that many of our villages are not of early mediæval origin, but the essentials are Anglo-Saxon enough.

It was not a numerous population which occupied the country. The hills never attracted the Anglo-Saxons, and much of the land was still untouched forest and fen and marsh. It was still the home of the wild beast and bird; besides the wolf and the deer, the tod and the brock, the fox and the badger, were numerous, and have lent the names of their homes to settlements which drove them further afield, such as Todmorden and Brockholes. In a country still so wild, and for so long out of touch with the more progressive continent, there was little movement from place to place except by military forces, missionary ecclesiastics, the kings and their households, and wandering chapmen or merchants and pedlars. So the Roman roads, though they must have come into use again when the merits of Roman sites like Leicester or York became too obvious to be longer neglected, declined from their former glories, and the new roads, little better than tracks poached



THE KEEP, COLCHESTER CASTLE

"Castles were built with defensive and not from offensive ideas" (p. 121.)



CASTLE RISING

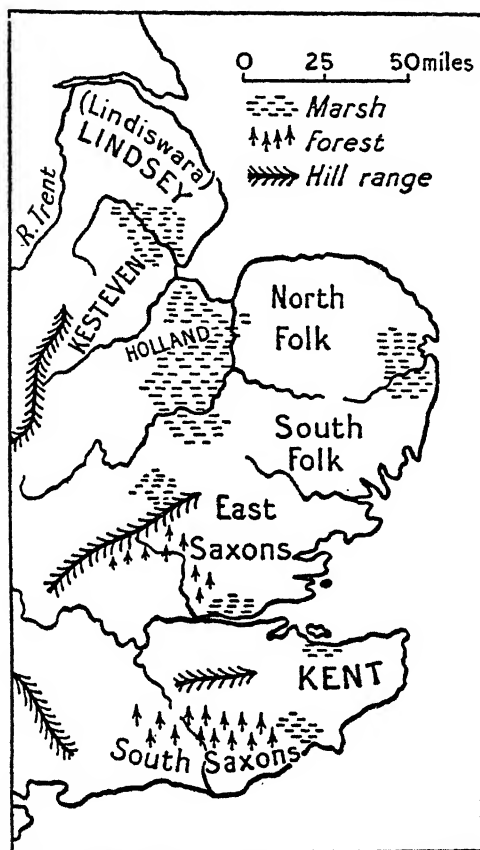
“The strongest catapults . . . would hardly breach solid stonework or double walls” (p. 121.)

by the cartwheels and the feet of cattle, for they were unmetalled, were few and far between. Under such circumstances the ridgeways must have been retained in use, and of the new roads we find plenty of traces, both of the *herepath* or military highway, which survives in numerous Harestreets, and of the *weg* or way which could serve a variety of purposes. We find the *hig weg*, the way along which the hay was carted, the *wylle weg* or way to the spring, the *theod herapath* or people's army-way, the *mearc weg* or boundary road, and the *King's Weg* or Kingsway.

But there is an admirable illustration of the endurance of the importance of England's earliest roads into a period comparatively late, demonstrating how throughout the Anglo-Saxon period the valleys were often so water-logged and forested that movement had to be on the hill-slopes. The sites of seven of the greatest battles during this period are certainly or almost certainly on or near the Ridgeway which ran from Salisbury Plain to the Thames ford at Streatley: *Beranbyrig* (Barbury, 552); *Wodnesbeorge* (Wanborough near Swindon or Adam's Grave by Alton Priors, 591 and 715); *Ellandune* (823); Ashdown (871, probably by the White Horse at Uffington); *Meratun* (871, either Marten in the Vale of Pewsey, or Marden near Bedwyn on the old *Roman* road); and East Kennett (1006). Battles in the Dark Ages are not commonly fought many miles from the main roads along which troops must move; the inference is that the old roads of England were still in general use. And the old roads still serve one useful purpose, which can best be appreciated by study of those early Ordnance Survey maps which indicate the parish boundaries. The civil parish is often not so very different in its limits from the mediæval vill, and the vill grew out of the settlement of the family or group of families. To define any territory, boundaries are necessary, and visible unmistakable boundaries are an asset. The course of a river makes an admirable visible boundary, but with the inclination of a stream to become the centre rather than the border of the life of a settlement, roads, particularly disused roads, do equally well. The green tracks of England, the deserted lanes, bramble-choked and often stone-paved, are everywhere to be found as territorial boundaries: one instance can be seen even on a small-scale map, where

Fosse Way marks the division between Wiltshire and Gloucestershire.

The administrative divisions of England are in great measure an Anglo-Saxon legacy. We are reminded by English names that it was the Anglo-Saxons, when settlement succeeded conquest, who first organised the divisions of the land on a permanent basis. There were many small tribal kingdoms before these coalesced into the main ones of Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia and Wessex. Marsh and forest, as the map on p. 99 shows, governed their boundaries; their names have often remained. The *Lindiswara* occupied the modern Lindsey, the *Pecsaetan* were the dwellers round the Peak; of the *Gyrwas* there seems no modern record, but the North-folk and South-folk of the East Angles settled in the modern Norfolk and Suffolk; East and Middle and South Saxons gave us the contemporary names of Essex and Middlesex and Sussex, the *Cantweara* preserved the name of the Celtic *Cantii* and gave us Kent; the Jutish *Meonwara* are remembered in no modern territorial division but in a place-name of the old, Meon in Hampshire. Sumorsaetan and Dorsaetan and Wilsaetan settled the western portions of Wessex; we have Somerset and Dorset and should have 'Wilset' if the growing fashion of naming shires from their principal town had not given us Wilt(on)shire. *Magesaetas*, dwellers around Hereford, have left no living record of themselves, but their cousins the *Hwiccas* may have left their name to the *Wyche* at Malvern and perhaps to Winchcombe in Gloucestershire (there was once a Winchcombeshire) may remember them. Often the early minor kingdom became the later shire, the portion 'sheared off' from the larger territory; 'shires' originate in Wessex, reproducing the old natural divisions into various groups of settlers; when the remainder of England comes under single control, that of the king of Wessex, it is artificially divided into 'shires', each with an historical basis. As the frontier of Wessex and its ally West Mercia advanced into Danish territory which had been acquired and settled by the Vikings during the ninth century, *burhs* were built to serve as offensive and defensive points. These were professionally garrisoned, and their defenders supported by a contribution from the surrounding lands. Ultimately the lands contributing to, say, the upkeep



FACTORS IN SETTLEMENT

Rivers, marsh, forest and hill country determine the settlement of migrants. The above areas of settlement have all been preserved as administrative counties.

of the fortifications and the maintenance of the garrison of Buckingham, became Buckinghamshire, as those round Shrewsbury were formed into Shropshire, while the districts in more or less permanent occupation by Danish 'armies' each became a shire known by the name of the town which was the 'army's' headquarters, as in the case of Huntingdon or Nottingham. Minor administrative divisions are now less apparent, though we have preserved the division of the unwieldy area of Yorkshire, roughly the old Angle Kingdom of

Deira, into three ridings or 'thridings', third parts, as was done in the case of the territory of the Lindiswaras, the modern Lincolnshire, composed of the 'ridings' of Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey.¹ The unwieldiness of the huge kingdom of Deira, too large to form an easily-administered single shire, has left us the local names recalling an unrecorded attempt to divide it into smaller shires: Craven, Cleveland, Holderness, Hallamshire and Richmondshire.

The sheriff of a shire (the more usual modern word, *county*, came in with the Normans, who recognised the *comté* as a territorial division) is hardly a prominent figure to-day. He is still, however, a royal official, appointed by the King, who 'pricks the roll' of suitable names submitted to him; on him is the onus of ensuring the safety of prisoners and of attending the execution of sentence of death; he attends the judges at assizes (though the King's Justices are an early mediæval and not an Anglo-Saxon creation). The military functions he originally enjoyed, such as that of summoning the shire levy, have passed to the Lord Lieutenant of a county, who about half-way through the sixteenth century supplanted him in this office.

England has more shires than we usually remember, for there are 'administrative' as well as 'geographical' counties—the Soke of Peterborough (now combined with the City of that name), geographically in Northamptonshire, and the 'thridings' of Lincolnshire, for example. Quite apart from the county boroughs of recent creation, which in most administrative respects correspond to counties, and the cathedral towns, certain 'cities' are also 'counties' of themselves—York and Chester, for example—as are also four towns of lesser eminence, Lichfield and Poole, and Caermarthen and Haverfordwest in Wales. The political map of England has gradually disembarassed itself of certain oddities, but many still remain.

¹ This is a good example of the permanence of organisation, and of the way in which geographical factors govern political considerations. The area bounded by the Humber and Trent marshes, the rivers Nen and Welland and the Fens, is in pre-Roman times the territory of the *Coritavi*, later the settlement of the *Lindiswara*, then the lands occupied by the Danish forces whose headquarters were Lincoln, and last of all the modern Lincolnshire. The river Witham makes Lindsey a natural separation from the whole, as the Fen border divided Holland from the more elevated Kesteven. But geography has not drawn her boundaries with due regard to the enclosure of areas with equal populations, which makes things very difficult when one comes to matters like the Representation of the People Acts.

What has previously been said of the origin of the midland shires will suggest why, particularly in the case of Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Gloucestershire, small 'island' portions of the county are altogether cut off from the main territory by the intervention of a different county. In certain towns we find portions which are not under the control of the civic authority; Chester Castle, for example, was always part of the Palatinate County and not of the city, and is still a portion of Cheshire and not, though geographically within its ultimate boundary, part of the City and County of Chester. Later in history we find the City of London being outside the royal power, which explains why, when the King wishes to enter the City, he is met at the old western gate, Temple Bar, by the Lord Mayor of London, armed with a drawn sword.

Odd territorial divisions which play little part in modern organisation, but which appear here and there in present-day life, date also to Anglo-Saxon days. The shire was further subdivided as it is to-day; or, properly speaking, the shire was not dissected into smaller parts but formed from an agglomeration of small units. We do not now hear much of the wapentakes of Yorkshire or the rapes of Sussex, minor administrative divisions of the whole, but we are fairly accustomed to hear that a Member of Parliament who wishes to retire has applied for the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. The 'Hundred' *may* originally have been the land of a hundred families or that which contributed a hundred warriors to the host; it was certainly the standard administrative unit of Anglo-Saxon England, with its own court of law and responsible for much of the governmental work directed by the modern County or Rural District Council. The names of some of these Hundreds (and the Hundred, though the actual districts have altered, is still a division of the shire to-day) show how our Saxon ancestors selected a common meeting-place for discussion of local problems. For example, apart from hundredal names which remain as the names of towns and villages to-day, we find Wherwelsdown, originally *hár welles dūn*, the ancient spring on the hill; Elstub, the stump of the elder tree; Rugeberg, the rough or old barrow or burial-place; Stodfold, the horses' fold. These were places everyone

knew how to find, and perhaps they possessed some traditional mysterious history as well, which made them suitable meeting-places.

The ultimate organisation of Anglo-Saxon England, if a complex one, displays features with which we are familiar to-day. After the King came the great earls, presiding over a collection of shires, each shire with its sheriff; in most counties a number of hundreds comprised the shire, and each shire and hundred had its own court. National decisions were arrived at by the king in concert with his magnates, his Witanagemot, or meeting of wise men. If there was no national or elaborate legal system, trial by one's peers or equals was fairly well-established. The Church, if by the eleventh century stagnant and slack, partly because the bishoprics were situated in unimportant centres like Sherborne and Elmham and Hexham, was at its best in her great English abbeys which persisted till the Reformation, Glastonbury and Malmesbury and Coventry and Beverley.

We think of England as primarily Anglo-Saxon. So we must, despite our mixture of blood, when we think that the six hundred years of the purely Anglo-Saxon period represent two-fifths of the time during which England has been permanently settled by this particular people, and that it was during this time that most of our lasting institutions came into existence. Our speech is mostly Anglo-Saxon in origin, our village names are predominantly Anglo-Saxon, the organisation of our personal and corporate life is not so very different from that which obtained in their day. And yet, modern complexities and later super-impositions make it the more difficult for us to recognise this fact. As we journey about the country, we receive a frequent reminder of primitive peoples, of the Roman Occupation, of the Norman Conquest, of mediæval, Tudor, Stuart, and Georgian man, but there is little tangible to recall to us the great body of our principal ancestors. None the less, when an exile thinks of England, it is really of Anglo-Saxon England that he thinks when he dreams of the

“pastoral heart of England—like a psalm
Of green days telling with a quiet beat.”

CHAPTER IV

THE SCANDINAVIAN LEGACY

“From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord deliver us.”—
Addition to the Litany of the Church in the ninth century.

SINCE this chapter is certain to be on the short side, for there was never a total conquest of England by the Norwegians and Danes, we might, to borrow an expression, try ‘tracing history backwards’ and see if from the survivals of these two peoples the facts of their activities in England can be deduced. We may begin by making a list of some of the chief words (and they will be place-names, or parts of place-names, for the most part) which authorities have ascribed to Scandinavian speech (though some may be from Old English also):

-fell	-by
-how(e)	-thwaite
-dale	kirk
ghyll	-garth
foss	-gate
-beck	sea-
-ness	-thorpe
-ford	-toft
-holm	

Now all the terms in the left-hand column have something to do either with mountains or with water. A *fell* is high ground; a *howe* a hill or mound; a *dale* the narrow valley between two steep mountain ranges; a *ghyll* a precipitous rocky defile carved out of the hillside. A *foss* (often now spelt *force*) is a waterfall; a *beck* a shallow turbulent mountain stream; *ness* means a cape or promontory; a *ford*, to which we have reduced *fjord*, is a long winding inland arm of the sea, bordered by mountains dropping straight down to the water's edge; a *holm* is an island. When a race moved from one land to another, the desire to retain familiar sights and circumstances which is one of the strongest tenets of human nature causes it

to find a home as like that which it has left as possible; the people who gave us these terms would therefore probably be dwellers by the sea and where mountains swept down to the sea. And that, of course, is exactly what the Norwegians were. They were a race of fishermen and sailors, pirates and mountaineers, who could maintain flocks of sheep on the mountain pastures but who had the utmost difficulty in finding level soil, free from rocky outcrops, on which they could grow corn and hay. When they found a new home in the British Isles there was no reason for them to experiment with lowland agriculture which they did not understand and which was unfamiliar to them, so they looked for a countryside which resembled that which they had left.

Where would they find it? In the lonely islands of the west coast of Scotland, the Hebrides, on the coast itself, in the Lake District, in much of Ireland, and in west Wales. And it is there that we find these names. We have Cross Fell and Mickle Fell in the Pennines, Millersdale in the Peak district, Wensleydale and many other dales also in the Pennines and Ennerdale in the Lake District; the same two last countrysides are full of ghylls and becks and forces, like Tilberthwaite Ghyll near Coniston, the Crimple Beck as far south as Harrogate, and High Force in Teesdale. Before they had finished with the British Isles they had journeyed much further afield, for we find Sharpness and Flat Holm and Steep Holm in the Severn estuary and Bristol Channel, Dungeness in Kent, Holme in the Fen Country, and Walton-on-the-Naze or Ness on the Essex coast. Fjords, reminiscent of Norway, they found everywhere; so we have Broadford in Skye, Waterford in southern Ireland, and Milford Haven in Pembrokeshire.

Some other words we use owe their existence in England to the same circumstances. The clearings for their farmsteads were their *thwaites*, as in Garthwaite; their barns *laths*, as in Watendlath; their summer farms *saeters*, as in Seatoller; their sheds *skal* as in Scaleber. A thorpe is a colony-settlement, or outlying farm, a *toft* a homestead (or field), a *garth*¹ an enclosure, a *gate* a road or pass. Their meetings to decide laws and customs, their Parliament of sorts, they knew as a *thing*, which survives in Thingwall in Cheshire, the place

¹An orchard is an 'out-garth', or enclosure away from the farm buildings.

where the *thing* was held. In time they became Christians like the Anglo-Saxons in whose land they had settled, and to this we owe in part the many *kirks* of our place-names; it is their version or an Anglian one of the modern and southern word *church*, as in Kirkstall and Kirkby.

But it may be suggested that we know of Scandinavian races occupying parts of England far distant from those we have mentioned. Denmark was not like Norway; it was a flatter, more fertile country, where dairy and arable farming has for many centuries been extensively practised; the Danes who came to England were far more of farmers and less of seamen and mountaineers than the Northmen, and the jagged ranges of Cumberland or Argyll were of no comfort to them. Their first landfall in England was naturally along the flat eastern coastal plain, and thence they pushed on towards the interior until the highlands of Scotland and the English river and marsh frontier stopped further general penetration. So the eastern counties of Scotland, the Cheviots, Northumbria, east of the Pennines, and the north-east Midlands, became the home of the Danes. We can, in England, trace the limit of their intensive settlement pretty accurately by marking the villages ending in *-by* furthest from the sea-coast, for they hardly gave any other termination to the name of the places of their settlement. Whitby on the Yorkshire coast is one of them; the east Midlands are monotonously rich in such names, Derby and Grimsby and Barnby, to mention only three. The limit of its occurrence more or less indicates the extent of their settlement, and is roughly the boundary agreed upon between Ælfred and Guthrum at Wedmore. But outside those we have mentioned there are few place-names in England of true Scandinavian origin. Knutsford in Cheshire is one, commemorating the greatest of all the English Danes, Cnut her king. Norse words in the present-day English language are infrequent, outside the place-names. The familiar *they* and *them* happen to be two, and so are *sister*, *egg*, *husband*, *law*, and *knife*. But Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon were so much akin as regards vocabulary that the assimilation of the different languages into one was an easy matter.

Denmark is a small country, the wild Scandinavian lands were too barren to support a great population, so the coming

of the Northmen to England was not altogether due to the common cause of an overcrowded country forced to rid itself of a proportion of its surplus inhabitants. How is it that we find so extensive and widespread evidence of Scandinavian influence on England? These pirates from the North came originally not only because the wealth of the English monasteries was worth the plundering and the rich farms of the Eastern plains more profitable homes than their own, but also on account of the pressure they themselves were experiencing, for Charlemagne, in the closing years of the eighth century, was attacking the inhabitants of Saxony with a view to converting them to Christianity. The Saxon tribes sought refuge with the Danes; the Danes found themselves threatened by the Franks, and in their fear the Scandinavian peoples attacked any Christian country they could. England and Ireland they found an easy prey and possessed of a magnificent richness worth frequent raids, short of the ships which could repel an enemy landing, and no longer supporting a warlike population; during the next hundred years they ravished the counties almost as they pleased. There was no real check till Ælfred thoroughly defeated them in 878 at *Ethandun* (Edington) in Wiltshire and was able to force the heathen Northmen both to accept Christianity and to confine themselves to the parts of the country north of Watling Street and the river Lea.

Though in the following century this Danish territory, the Danelagh, was reconquered, a weak English government again provided the Northmen with their opportunity. One of their frequent attacks on London gave us our nursery rhyme, greatly though this has changed from the original, *London Bridge is broken down*; as in the case of its mediæval successor, the wooden pillars were easily cut through with axes and destroyed by fire; a stone bridge was not begun until 1176. From 1013 to 1042 Danish kings ruled England. In three hundred years of occupation the Scandinavian and English peoples not unnaturally learnt to live together and to intermarry, especially as Cnut ruled the English portion of his northern empire by means of English as well as Danish ministers. To the settled Danes their adopted country became very dear, and we find in the Anglo-Danes of the north and the east midlands the chief champions of English liberties against the Norman influence

in the time of Edward the Confessor, and stoutly resisting the invasion of their kinsmen under Harald Hardraada in the following reign.

The Northman is still to be found in most of the districts we have mentioned in this chapter. We shall not find him in Pembrokeshire, for that county was later colonised by Englishmen and Flemings from Flanders, but the farmers and shepherds of the Cumberland and Westmorland uplands are often almost pure Norse, and so are those of the Pennine country and the Cheviots. The Dane, but rather the Anglo-Dane, is to be found everywhere south of the Tees and north of the Chilterns on the eastern side of Watling Street, where we find tall big-boned slow-spoken men whose pride is in their farms and in their individual independence, lovers of song and daring as were their forefathers, and by preference dwellers outside the towns. They are to be found again in the more remote portions of Scotland, and in Ireland, which country never succeeded in defeating them as thoroughly as the English did at Ashdown and Edington, despite the battle of Clontarf.

But apart from their blood their legacy is a small one, for their existence in England prior to their assimilation was one of long struggle either with their new neighbours or with the geographical difficulties of their settlements. Their contribution to English literature is almost negligible, for that which touches us most nearly is rather an account of their English wars than their life in England, though in the Sagas there is something of the raids of their heroes in the years between Edington and the Norman Conquest. Their wandering and unsettled life made them the authors of no spectacular buildings or monuments; for too long their legacy was one of destruction rather than progress. But they came to England like a swift purging wind at a time when the stagnation of Anglo-Saxon England, in her security in the days when the conquest of the island was complete, needed some such galvanisation, and they provided excellent new blood for a drooping population.

CHAPTER V

THE NORMAN LEGACY

“Cold heart and bloody hand
Now rule the English land.”

THORKIL SKALLASON.

THE Norman Conquest of England is a conquest with a difference. Rome spent in all something like a century and a half in subduing England; the Anglo-Saxon invaders occupied a couple of hundred years in establishing themselves upon a logical western frontier, but when the standards of the Fighting Man and Golden Dragon were torn down by the invaders at Hastings William the Norman was, to all practical purposes, master of England. It would take too long fully to discuss the reasons for this statement, and certainly William still had local rebellions to cope with, but perhaps England was by now accustomed to a fairly steady exchange of rulers, for the century which saw Hastings had seen the acceptance by Anglo-Saxon England of Sweyn of Denmark as king of the realm. Norman influence had penetrated deep into English life during the reign of Edward the Confessor, himself a refugee in Normandy during the time of the Danish monarchy, and to the English it may have seemed that it mattered little who ruled the land if he kept its ancient customs and laws. If so, they were mistaken. Though the Normans in origin were as much Northmen as ever the Dane had been, they had been citizens of the continent long enough to absorb an old and to develop a new philosophy of rule: Rome, with her passion for organisation and definition, had come back to England.

And England needed a new organisation. The Normans, to some extent, were strangers in a strange land, and their first task was to make sure that in that land they should be safe. Therefore the English population must be in subjection to their foreign masters; the old tradition that position in the community depended on wealth as well as upon breeding must go. That there had been ‘classes’ in Anglo-Saxon

England nobody will deny, but in great measure it is to the Normans we owe the primary division into 'gentry' and 'common people' which for five hundred years at least persisted with such vigour that from the lower to the higher strata of society it was well-nigh impossible to climb.

The organisation of the land, which has only recently altered, we owe to this Norman influence. The unit of Anglo-Saxon England had been the village; the Normans preserved the conception, but with a difference. The independence of the individual and of the small community was offensive to their conception of centralised authority, and they sought to destroy it. We are not so far removed from the time when the 'Lord of the Manor' was a familiar feature of society; once every community except the boroughs was attached to some manor or other. This was the first of the Norman contributions to English life, though for some time England had been developing on lines not greatly different from those familiar in Normandy: Anglo-Saxon England had progressed from individual independence to the theory that every man should have his lord, Norman England forced her to accept the fact that all land should have its lord. So for a long period England was a land where authority in the community resided for all normal purposes not in a committee of elders, but in the Lord of the Manor, and from this principle it is but a short step to that of national control of all such factors which previously had been to a great extent locally determined, police work, the maintenance of public safety, taxation, etc. The Lord of the Manor's powers were wide. His land might have been granted him, on the sharing-out of England's forfeited estates at the Conquest, by some minor magnate, but while he owed him allegiance, he owed it to the King as well. If, broadly speaking, the Anglo-Saxon theory was that a man should obey the lord who gave him his land, 'to love what he loved, to shun what he shunned, without debate or reservation,' and follow his lord rather than England's king if their ideas conflicted, the Norman conception was that a man was bound to obey the King rather than his immediate superior. So it was in the case of the village unit. Village life centred around the Lord of the Manor: a portion of the previously common lands were his peculiar property, farmed for his profit by his dependent

tenants; the village mill no longer ground its corn for the benefit of the inhabitants in common, the mill was the lord's, and his tenants paid him a fee for the privilege of using it. A man in the tenth century might have expected judgment for his misdeeds from his neighbours and equals; late in the eleventh he came before the Manorial Court for trial at the hands of the Lord of the Manor or of his bailiff or steward. We are not so very far distant from an England where hard by each village is the Hall at which the Squire and his family reside except when the necessity for contribution to national affairs draws him to the country's capital. Here, to the agricultural peasant, his King is as remote as his God but his Squire the visible and almost ultimate authority, at whose pleasure he holds his land, who passes judgment upon him if he poaches or thieves, the father of his people and holding his position by a divine ordinance which drives his social inferiors humbly to salute him when they encounter each other.

But the King, we said, thought of himself as master of the realm. He must be able to call upon the service of a fighting force if need be; he will expect his landowners, both his great nobility and their lesser holders of manors, to bring to his banner and lead in battle the peasantry of their estates, and for many centuries the Kings of England will be fighting at home and abroad. Here is to be found the tradition which later sends the Squires' sons into the Army and the Navy to officer regiments and crews.

It is necessary at this point to emphasise these conceptions, but we are proceeding rather deeper into the Middle Ages than belongs to the Norman period. The Norman task was first that of organising England in two main directions, the land and the preservation of order.

England possesses an unique record of the organisation of the land in the eleventh century. William the Conqueror found that one of the greatest privileges he obtained by his acquisition of England was a right to tax his subjects. It says something for the adequacy of his conquest that within a year of Hastings he was collecting this tax, Danegeld, originally levied to buy off the Danes who invaded England in the tenth century; it says something for the inefficiency of later Anglo-Saxon England that the results of this taxation seem

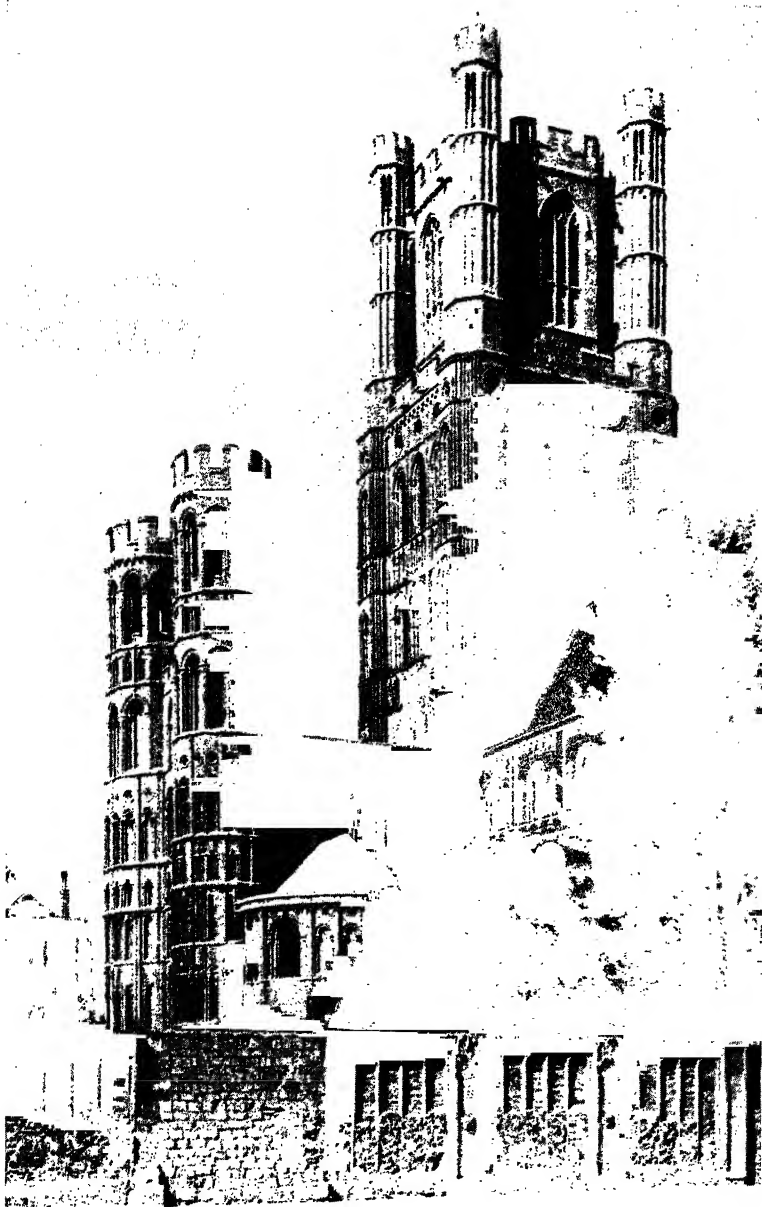
to have proved altogether disappointing. William and his advisers realised that unless affairs were put on a more business-like footing this privilege was of small value; and so an Inquest was ordered, which seems to have had at least a dual purpose; the determination of *de facto* and *de jure* ownership of estates, and liability for geld and the possibility of an increase thereof. Royal commissioners were despatched to obtain, possibly, as one document would suggest, from the mouths of the priest, the reeve, and six men of every village and township, the details regarding ownership and assessment for taxation of all the land in the country. This information, collated and summarised, is preserved for us in the volumes of Domesday Book, one of England's most precious possessions. Valuable as the information contained in it is, it is still no more than what we call a 'secondary authority,' for the information it gives is not as the witnesses gave it to the commissioners for their own particular village, but re-sorted under the headings of the various landowners. Often in working from it we find difficulty in discovering which village is meant; most counties possess two or three villages of similar names, and we have little clue to which is meant.¹ Domesday Book is not easily interpreted by the layman. It is a survey for the purposes of taxation, not a gazetteer, and does not aim at providing a basis for a village history. Still, mention of a village or town in Domesday Book is proof of something like a thousand years of continued existence, and often the witnesses volunteered and the clerks set down items of peculiar interest. It was usual for them to record, though not by name, yet often giving the area, the woods and meadowland and pasture which surrounded the village; they noted mills and fisheries and weirs, the existence of a market, vineyards and ferries; they have preserved for us the situations of salt-works, mines, potteries and iron-works. For parts of England, the number of the live-stock on each manor is recorded, and probably this was systematically done in the original transcripts. Ploughing was mainly done by teams, the number of which is also indicated, of eight oxen, whose added advantage over the horse was

¹ Maitland and Round taught us how to use Domesday Book; Round discovered from collation with somewhat similar documents that it was the village as well as the landowner which was the individual unit in the national scheme.

that when their field-work was done they could be eaten. But a winter diet of salted meat and fish was monotonous and unhealthy; hence we find frequent mention of the dovecots, which provided a change of menu and fresh meat.

Not always can we say with certainty which particular village Domesday Book is discussing. The eleventh-century name is often far different from the modern one, and in any county there may be several villages with an identical name. When the clerks collated the returns from the various villages, they grouped them first by counties, then by landowners, so that the arrangement gives small geographical clue to a manor's situation. There are, for example, in Wiltshire, five manors going by the name of *Contone*; the last three of these entries have been said by local historians to be three different villages widely separated. But examination of the text shows that each has 'the third part of two mills paying ten shillings,' which suggests that these three entries refer to a single village, though to three manors.

For while a 'manor' may consist of an entire village or group of villages, there may among the lands comprising what we call a village be several 'manors,' the owner of each of which possesses part of the territory of what now seems to be a unit. A single Domesday entry will therefore not necessarily give us the complete record of the individual village. Also, men had manors in many parts of the country or kingdom. This was not due to a deliberate act on the Conqueror's part, as has often been said, with a view to separating a man's lands so as to make it more difficult for him to collect his dependants and raise a rebellion; in the course of time the principal Anglo-Saxon landowners received estates scattered all over the country as the individual holding happened to be at a grantor's disposal, and William handed over to a follower the estates of an individual—the natural method to adopt. A great lord needed many estates; money (that is, actual coin) was scarce, and he and his train would speedily exhaust the resources of the individual manor. Having done so, he and his household would pass on to the next of his possessions. Such a system produced a name which has come down to modern times: the aggregation of a great man's estates, widely separated though they might be, was his *barony*, and his most suitable manor would be singled out as the head of this



ELY CATHEDRAL

"Men wrought mightily to the glory of God and His Church"

(p. 131.)



BEVERLEY MINSTER

"The cathedrals and abbeys grew to their full beauty . . . because all men might labour at or contribute to God's work" (*p.* 131.)

barony. This aggregation came to be known as an "Honour," so we read of the "Honour of Lancaster," which simply means the estates of that particular house. As time went on, by reason of intermarriage, private war, and a rise to power, the estates of a minor magnate might fall to his more powerful local competitor, so that gradually the great baron's estates do become a geographical as well as a fiscal unit.

From Domesday Book we discover that a fresh source of our village place-names was coming into being. Actually, while the tendency can be noticed in that record, it is rather post-Domesday, and a further example of the Norman passion for definition. To the Norman, where there was more than one manor comprising the vill, it was important that the separate estates could be readily and unmistakably identified. The Norman lords were giving their family names to the manors they owned; to this we owe such names as Bolton Percy and Allerton Mauleverer, but the conquerors did not alter the names of English villages, giving them a French instead of a Teutonic form; though as new settlements were made, as new villages were formed, they were more likely to obtain a French-sounding than an English name, for Normans and not Englishmen were their masters. So we have Montacute in Somerset, where round a new castle a new village sprung up about the *mont aigu*, the pointed hill, on which the castle was built; the red earth of the castle-site produced *Rougemont* or Richmond; sometimes a Norman name was imported for the new town, as at Montgomery. With the Normans came a revival of ecclesiastical organisation, and many of the new early mediæval abbeys, like Jervaulx¹ and Beaulieu, bear an un-English name. But England received many of her most characteristic place-names as a result of the Norman passion for order and definition, for having things logical and understandable. Anglo-Saxon England, as the charters and land-books and the information on which Domesday Book is based tell us, was a thing of the village. Norman newcomers thought not so much of the village, not necessarily under single ownership, but often divided into two or more 'manors', as of the individual holding of land. When Domesday Book was compiled the recording clerks were forced to write down 'The Bishop of Winchester holds

¹ But Jervaulx is only a Normanisation of Yorevale or Urevale.

Fonthill,' and elsewhere 'Berenger Giffard holds Fonthill': there were two manors making up the village of Fonthill. This was not good enough to a precise Norman's way of thinking; he feared tax-collectors might think they had finished with Fonthill when they had collected the Bishop's dues, and forget Berenger also owned land there. So it is not long before we find two villages with different names recorded (the principal buildings of the Bishop and of Berenger must have been slightly apart, anyway), Fonthill Giffard and Fonthill Episcopi, or Fonthill of the Bishop. This accounts for nearly all the double-barrelled names on the map of England; villages got new prefixes or suffixes to indicate their owner. While the Anglo-Saxons, when a village grew beyond its original population into two villages, could do little, if the first was styled Hampton, beyond calling the second Other Hampton, the Normans differentiated them by means of the names of their owners, so we have King's Langley and Abbot's Langley, Norton Malreward and Lydiard Tregooze, Wenden Ambo (where two holdings had been thrown into one; *ambo* = both), Upton Magna, Bindon Parva, indicating the larger or the smaller of two villages with identical names, and reminding us that Latin was the language of administration in Norman England. Scores of English villages in different counties shared the same name; a messenger was soon prevented from going to the wrong Stoke by giving them additional names, Stoke Edith, Stoke Mandeville, Bishopstoke, Stoke-under-Ham. If the system looked like breaking down, say where members of the same family held two adjacent villages, they could be differentiated by pointing out the dedication of the parish church; so we find Berwick St. Martin and Berwick St. Leonard. Since, for some considerable period after the Norman Conquest, Norman-French was the language of the Court and of legal and administrative bodies, and 'English' that of the lower classes, Norman-French survivals in the modern speech are very largely found in words which have to do with the ruling class. Official titles, such as *constable* and *marshal*, *chancellor* and *judge*, are all of Norman-French origin, and some survivals can be shown to be pure Norman, for where French has a soft sound, a *ch* or *j*, northern France made the initial letter hard, thus where the French have *jambon*, we say

gammon, and for *charretier*, carter. Similarly the Norse *w* became the French *g* or *gu*, and the English language contains specimens of either ancestry; for example, we have *warden* and *guardian*, *warranty* and *guarantee*, and the French *guerre* is the English *war*. The vocabulary of kinship, because ancestry is a matter for administrative circles, is Norman-French, except for the *father* and *mother* which are from the common Aryan stock which produced most European languages, so the French *tante*, *oncle*, *cousin*, become the English aunt, uncle, cousin. The conquerors provided the rich element in society; accordingly universal tradesmen retained an English name, such as *smith* and *wright*, but those dealing in luxuries gave us a Norman-French word, *tailleur*, tailor, and *marchand*, merchant.

We might almost say that it is to the Normans that we owe the idea of our modern surnames. Anglo-Saxon and Danish England had a tendency to know a man by his father's name or by an individual epithet which died with him, such as Edward Edricson or Alfred Wolfsbane, and while the Normans possessed the same tendency, calling men Fitz-Patrick (*fitz* = *fil*s, son of), or after their principal estate, such as Alfred of Marlborough, we get the beginnings of the great land-owning families such as Percy and Grosvenor, of which each member would possess the same surname. The Celtic system, long prevalent, of calling a man Hugh ap Rhys, that is Hugh son of Rhys, which by elision would become Hugh Price, has this difficulty, that Hugh Price's son Richard might not be known as Richard Price but as Richard ap Hugh, or Richard Pugh. Similarly Richard Pugh's son David might be styled David ap Richard, or David Pritchard. Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians had a somewhat similar system; the victor of Stamford Bridge was Harold Godwineson. It was the place-name, the profession, the physical characteristic, which produced in Anglo-Saxon times, as in later days, the epithet by which a man was known. But the Christian names of Anglo-Saxon England have in many cases become the surnames of to-day; for example, *Beornheard* has developed into Barnard or Barnett, and *Æthelstan* into Alston.¹

¹ Examples must here be limited. I recommend those interested in the origins of names to read Ernest Weekley's *The Romance of Names* (Murray). I have found difficulty in discovering examples that he does not give, so complete is this work.

With the Normans the family was of more importance than the individual. The right to bear a noble name, transmitted from father to children, was highly prized, and the surname was now for the first time prominent, for a Christian name and perhaps an indication of the father had sufficed for the Anglo-Saxon. English surnames are derived from a multitude of sources; they indicate the names of the heroes of the mediæval romances (e.g. Cradock from *Caradoc*, Saunders from *Alexander*, and the straightforward Percival and Rowland); they find their inspiration in the Bible and the Calendar of Saints and Feasts, producing Moss from *Moses*, Mayhew from *Matthew*, Pankhurst from *Pentecost*; they are variants of standard Christian names, as Marriott and Morrison from *Mary*. Straightforward saints' names have become corrupted into common surnames, as Seymour from *St. Maur* and Sinclair from *St. Clair*. Place-names have already been mentioned as a source, though they become mangled and disguised, as in Allenson from *Alençon* and Dew from *d'Eu*, Sloman from *slough*, Cranmer from *crane mere*, and Rowntree from *rowan tree*. The Norman place-names which gave the new inhabitants of England many family names have sometimes got horribly mauled; for example, Roach is from *Roche*, Garrick from *Garigue*, Hawtrey from *Hauterive*. It must have been chance which decided whether a man whom his neighbours thought of as dwelling by a wood got the surname Boyce from *bois* or the English Atwood. Names reminiscent of the animals and the birds are often connected with the painted sign which an early bearer of the name displayed over his shop or residence, producing Bull, Peacock, Buckle; Rothschild is simply *roth-schild*, the red shield, but the common pronunciation would never allow us to think it.

Among the commonest English surnames are those of occupations—Smith, Taylor, Clark, Baker, Miller, Monk—and of descent. 'Little Lord Fauntleroy' was properly *enfant-le-roi*, child of the king, and Senior is from *seigneur*, while *Knight* and *Squire* have suffered no change. Lower down the social scale Warden, Shepherd and Coward (cow-herd) seem fairly obvious, but nicknames (which properly speaking are eke-names, extra names) require a volume to themselves. Drinkwater recalls what Mr. Weekley calls a 'mediæval

eccentric'; Lightfoot and Whitehead explain themselves; Blundell and Fairfax, the one Norman, the other Saxon, refer to fair-haired persons—nicknames of colour are extremely common. Animals and birds also produced names. Duff is often *dove*, and a popular singer might be called Nightingale.

English surnames have puzzled more than the first person to complain that England possessed names like Cholmondeley which were pronounced Marchbanks. English pronunciation tends to become telescopic, and so the number of words not pronounced as they are spelt is large.

Domesday Book, being a state document constructed by professional clerks, is of course compiled in Latin, but while the English language was not displaced—it could not altogether be displaced in a country where Englishmen outnumbered Normans—the Norman-French dialect, deriving much of its vocabulary from the Latin, largely entered our speech. Too much has been made of the suggestion that the condition of England is shown in that while the subject Anglo-Saxon peasant tended the stock it was known by an English name—ox, sheep, hog—when their Norman masters ate it it became Norman-French—beef (*bœuf*), mutton (*mouton*), or pig (*porc*). But it is true that many of the words introduced into common use with the coming of the Normans are those which reflect the dominance and authority of the conquerors, such as constable, chancellor, and count. The fact is that some years after the Conquest both English and Norman-French speech were daily used side by side by all classes until they fused into one tongue.

We are too apt to think of the Norman period as one of great change from the conditions of Anglo-Saxon England. Obviously there is immense difference between the days of Edward the Confessor and of Edward I, but the age of the Normans is one rather of transition than of type. We are forced to defer to later chapters much of what on a first impression we are inclined to associate with the Normans. It is in a later day that the influence of the Roman Church, of the rule of law, and of national organisation reaches its zenith. What, shortly, the Normans gave to England is this: order and solidarity. We are inclined to think of them as castle-builders, but the fact remains that by the time of

Domesday Book only one *stone* castle, if that, was to be found in England.

The castles of England are of many different periods. The earliest type, following the Norman Conquest, was a simple affair, a mere place of security for the new landowner and his dependants. It was unnecessary to build on high precipitous ground, for the most enthusiastic Saxon rebellion would not be possessed of the artillery of the day, which was of the catapult type, throwing stones and lighted billets; a better situation was where water or marsh gave protection and where river crossings could be defended, and this is where we find the majority of the earliest castles. Of course, if a hill was handy, especially if a view over a wide stretch of country was required, that determined the castle-site, as in the case of Richmond and Scarborough in Yorkshire, or Dover and Lewes, for example.

Fifty castles are mentioned in Domesday Book, and there must have been many more which were not recorded. In the south at any rate, where building stone is not easily available, few if any of these could have been of the type with the ruins of which we are now most familiar, for the number of skilled stonemasons required to construct such a quantity, and that in a period of twenty years, would be incredibly large. The King would have first claim on their services, for the need of royal castles, to be captained and garrisoned by loyalists, was paramount. Simultaneously, too, there was considerable construction of ecclesiastical buildings, some of which required the services of masons and their raw material. But it was an easy business for the Norman lord to order his new tenants to dig a deep ditch, divert a local stream into it, heaping up the earth excavated into a mound or *motte*, and to build a wooden fence round the top. Such a fortification, where he and his men-at-arms may sleep, is quite sufficient for the early days of the Norman Occupation. If pre-Conquest earthworks—Celtic or Roman or Saxon or Danish—existed, he might restore and make use of these. After the mound has been erected, one or more enclosures, *baileys*, as they are called, can be constructed by the mound, and similarly moated; these can be used as a sleeping-place by the lord's personal retainers, or as a refuge-place for his cattle and flocks in the event of a local rising. The mound might be artificial or natural; from 10-100 ft.

high, and 100-300 ft. in diameter. A good example can be seen at Launceston in Cornwall.

Early in the history of the Norman castles come those which defended the approaches to London, especially on the southward and westward sides. Tonbridge, Rochester, Folkestone, Dover, Hastings, Lewes, Bramber, Arundel, Chichester, Guildford, Reigate, Farnham, Basing, Windsor, Wallingford, Oxford, were some of these. North and east of London the castles of Clare, Hedingham, Castle Rising, Ongar, Pleshey, and Great Berkhamsted would seem to be of early date. Doubtless the Conqueror very early constructed a simple castle in London itself; late in his reign and in that of his successor the Tower of London was built. The White Tower, which was whitewashed, not built of white stone, is the earliest portion of the existing structure; the citadel as we know it is mainly of much later date.

To ensure the permanent subjugation of the country and to put down local rebellions, William had to tour the country in person. No doubt all he had time to do was to erect a wooden tower on a mound and to leave a garrison there; these include Winchester and Exeter, Warwick, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Nottingham, Lincoln and York, and, after a ghastly march from York across the Pennines in deep snow, Chester and Stafford. Once the south and midlands seemed fairly peaceful, it was time to think of guarding the frontiers. He had to protect his realm against the Danes, for there was a tradition of a nearly successful invasion in the same year as Hastings, when Harold defeated Harald Hardraada at Stamford Bridge outside York, and he secured himself against an attack from the north by laying waste the countryside. The Vale of York, one of England's most fertile and productive farming-districts, the land between Humber and Tees, was made a desert by the simple expedient of burning every village and crop, slaughtering the oxen and sheep, and thus ensuring that no army of any size could enter the midlands by the gap between the Pennines and the North Sea. Had they attempted to do so, they would have starved, for a force of any size cannot carry provisions for a long march. He did it thoroughly, for this was in 1069, and in 1086 Domesday Book records of every local village, *hoc est vasta* ("this is waste").

As his kindred and his most trusted barons were set to guard the coastal approach to London, so he despatched his friends to stem any invasion of the country from Wales or from Scotland, and to extend Norman rule beyond the frontier of Saxon times. The lands confronting the danger-spots where invasion might be expected were put under the control of a single trusted baron; they were made counties after the Norman model rather than the English. Two, Chester and Durham, are still in a sense Counties Palatine (we still speak of County Durham, but of no other English shire in this manner); two, Kent and Shrewsbury, early lost the title; the first because its Earl rebelled against William his half-brother, the second because Norman influence quickly extended itself more deeply westwards into Wales. Domesday Book displays the pre-eminence of the Conqueror's half-brother Robert of Mortain in Cornwall; he possesses far more manors in the county than all the rest of the local landowners put together. For Cornwall might easily be the scene of an attack by Saxon exiles, or the nucleus of a semi-independent principality, controlled by a disloyal adventurer from western Normandy. The castles of Chester, Rhuddlan, Denbigh, Shrewsbury, Montgomery, Wigmore, Berkeley, Chepstow, among others, menaced the Welsh. Durham, Richmond, the 'New Castle' on the Tyne, Preston, Carlisle, to mention only a few, did the same for the Scots border.

Castles, from the royal point of view, were useful so long as their constables were loyal to their royal master. The twelfth century saw two contenders for the Crown, Stephen and Matilda, and the barons took sides as their fancy pleased them. Hitherto the monarchy had prevented the erection of castles without licence; the years of civil war saw the construction of scores of 'adulterine' castles built without leave, but these too were mostly of the 'motte and bailey' type, and disappeared when Henry II restored order in England and ordered their destruction—which must have been an easy matter to perform.

But late in the Norman period comes the circular or rectangular solid structure with which we are more familiar than we are with the 'motte and bailey,' for this is liable to disappear, especially as in most cases later work has been added to

the original plan. Circular 'shell keeps' took the natural outline of the early mound; square keeps would be built where the mound allowed space. A keep and a walled enclosure was about all the Normans needed, for castles were built with defensive and not from offensive ideas, and the difficulty of introducing and storing provisions was so considerable that the garrison was intended to be small. The strongest catapults and mangonels, throwing the heaviest stone balls, would hardly breach solid stonework or double walls filled with rubble and concrete; a direct attack had to be conducted beneath showers of boiling water, molten lead, or heavy jagged stones, with fire flung down on any wooden protection held over the besiegers' heads; before starvation could force the defenders to surrender a rescue-force would probably arrive. Also, there was a moat to be bridged. Even with the use of water-transport the conveyance of stone to a flat countryside was a laborious and expensive matter, and the wages of skilled workmen were high. But the fortresses which guarded the easiest way from Scotland to England had to be of stone, and numerous. Richmond, Bamborough, Alnwick, Warkworth, Pontefract, Conisborough, sufficiently suggest the need. We are prone to think of the Middle Ages as the great age of the cathedrals and abbeys, but these could not reach their highest form until order was general. The revival in English ecclesiasticism which came with the Norman advent indeed produced a spate of building for religious purposes, but even so, this architecture reflects the character of the times. It argues the Roman influence; the walls are thick, the arches rounded, supported on piles of stone; there is a solidity about it which suggests the mentality of its authors.

But what we said about the military applies equally to religious buildings. Early Norman work is not the finished thing of the later Middle Ages, and building in stone is by no means common. Much wood was used, and proved highly dangerous, for the abbey church of Goldenborough, as Peterborough was called, was destroyed by fire,¹ and so were many other inflammable buildings also. Some of the over-ambitiously planned towers collapsed, as at Ely cathedral, and

¹ This incident was due to arson rather than to accident. But there are none the less numerous recorded cases of accidental destruction by fire.

most Norman windows have disappeared, for the designers of later centuries believed in more spaciousness than did the Norman architect.

It is important to remember that the average parish church or cathedral is not the product of a single age, and that the evidence of the work of a particular period may not at first sight be obvious. In consequence, as has been well said, 'every church, above and beyond the *architectural* styles that it reveals, has a style or personality of its own.'¹ There are, indeed, three main periods in English church architecture: Romanesque (to about 1166); Gothic (sub-divided into Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular; to about 1566); and Renaissance. The first derives from Roman conceptions; it is massive and dignified. Low, sturdy towers, thick walls, small windows, heavy columns, and low arches, mark its influence. It is not always beautiful, but it gives the idea of building something which shall endure and shall suggest quiet strength, order, and permanence. Much fine work, unfortunately, was cleared away by later builders who demanded more lightness and space.

Still, the Norman period sees the construction of the earliest great cathedrals and monasteries; there is much good Norman work in Ely, Rochester and Durham, at Tewkesbury, St. Albans, Christchurch near Bournemouth, Glastonbury and Wimborne. We have too the beginnings of the magnificent mediæval parish churches; of which three of the finest Norman examples are Iffley near Oxford, Kilpeck in Herefordshire, and Melbourne, Derbyshire. So it is with the castles which come into prominence late in the Norman period: the walls are of immense depth, the whole building is dominated by a central keep, square and massive. Iffley church or Rochester Castle gives an excellent idea of buildings typical of the period.

The Normans, we said, were principally engaged in bringing order into their new home, and impressing on a subject population that they were its masters. 'Stark' is the adjective the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle applies to William the Conqueror; stark and ruthless were the Norman actions. Rebellion against the Norman conquerors was shown to be a

¹Fellows, A: *The Wayfarer's Companion*.

dangerous practice; he scrupled not to imprison his half-brother Odo, and his cousin Roger, Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk; he was, as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records, 'beyond all measure severe to the men that gainsayed his will. . . . Bishops he hurled from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thegns into prison.' Of his insistence on every man owing ultimate authority to the King we have already written, and it is in this period that we find in some measure the abandonment of the Anglo-Saxon system of a tariff for crimes. Not that the death penalty was unknown in Anglo-Saxon England, but the general principle was that all crimes could be expiated by the payment of a fine, in part to the King, in part to the victim or his kinsmen if he was slain. William insisted on the infliction of the death penalty for the murder of a Norman, and as soon as it became difficult to say whether a man was English or Norman or a blend of both, the system was instituted, which has remained till now, of a Coroner holding an inquest or inquiry into the circumstances of the man's death. A discipline which she badly needed was brought to England; this firmly established, progress in institutional and social directions could begin.

CHAPTER VI

THE LEGACY OF THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

“ The knights are dust,
And their good swords are rust;
Their souls are with the saints, we trust.”

S. T. COLERIDGE: *A Fragment*.

ALWAYS there have seemed to be two theories about mediæval England: one which thinks of it as a blood-stained riotous time when Might was Right and the cities and the country stank of blood and filth, and one which hails it as “Merrie England,” when life was a sweet simple thing of an open-air life of few worries and no complexities. The fact is, of course, that each view is partly right and partly wrong; England was passing through a period of ‘growing pains’; she was in the condition of an adolescent the disorders of whose blood manifested themselves in unhealthy eruptions, and whose inexperience makes for idealism.

The Normans had given her order; the Angevins, heirs of the Normans, gave her law. The Norman Conquest placed, inevitably, too much uncontrolled power in the hands of the nobility, and if the King was to preserve order in England he had to be strong enough to control any league of the baronage as well as to put down a popular revolt; so the King and not the territorial magnates becomes the real ruler of the kingdom. The greatest step in this direction was the substitution of law for custom. With Anglo-Saxon England had grown up the habit of working by custom, which varied from district to district, instead of on a national invariable body of law; the task of the Angevins was to institute and develop the English legal system.

Customary law, that is law depending on local custom, must by its nature vary from place to place. As an example of this, although it became usual in England for the eldest son to succeed to his father's land, for long certain districts had their own custom, as in Kent, where by *gavelkind* all a man's sons

inherited; or in parts of Surrey, Middlesex, Sussex and Suffolk, certain boroughs, like Nottingham, and in the Honour of Taunton, where by a custom known as *Borough-English*¹ the youngest son took the land. Roman Law was not codified until after Britain had ceased to be a Roman province, and while the subsequent English legal system was not, strictly speaking, based on Roman ideas, the conception of the Rule of Law, and not of power, never lost its hold.

Anglo-Saxon law, as we can see from the codes of the various early kings like Æthelbert of Kent and Ine of Wessex, recognises moral, social, and political offences, and its breadth and depth were of course greatly extended after Christianity came to the kingdoms. In it we see murder considered a crime, but not one to be expiated on the Pentateuchal principle of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. The offence of murder is atoned for by payment of a fine, and so is almost every crime or misdemeanour. Two points at once strike us; first, there is a tariff for crimes, so that a man knows the penalty before he commits the offence, and the penalty varies with the social rank of the injured. Secondly, part of the fine goes to the aggrieved party or, if he is slain, to his kinsmen; part to the King.

Herein are crudities. A tariff practically encourages breach of the law on the part of the rich; a law which varies according to whether the transgressor is noble or not is a law which unduly favours certain classes. Offences are thought of as affecting the person and not the state—as they must be until there is a single state and kingdom. But the germ of the idea of the *king's* peace being disturbed is a good one. Law, throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, remained customary, though to some extent defined in writing, and local. At the Norman Conquest Wessex, Mercia, and the old Danish settlements each had separate laws.

England's weakness was in this localised system. Among other defects, it placed responsibility for the detection and punishment of crime on local authority, which implies that an escaped criminal would not suffer intensive pursuit if

¹ Certain writers have suggested, without foundation for the statement, that this form of succession owes its origin to the *jus primæ noctis*, inferred (but incorrectly) to be the right of a lord to sleep with his tenant's wife on her wedding-night, so that the eldest son was quite probably illegitimate.

he fled from the district in which he had committed his crime. It encouraged the growth of a class of men who, once criminals, must for their own safety continue a career of crime, but in another place. A somewhat primitive occasional system of trial, by which the result was dependent on luck, for a man condemned by a jury to the test of an ordeal had a chance of 'proving' his innocence if his walk over red-hot ploughshares or the effect of boiling water failed to disable him for the prescribed period, equally encouraged crime.

But with the Normans, and the Italianate lawyers they brought with them, came the idea of a single centralised body of law, derived from one source only and the same in its effects for every man, baron or swineherd. A degenerate Anglo-Saxon Church had for years had little good influence on England's legal system; the Norman ecclesiastics brought to bear on it all the unifying tendencies of Roman Law. The kings from William I to Henry II, aided by their ministers, left to England as their legacy the conception and the machinery of the common Law—the law before which all are equal and which works without prejudice or favour. Normans and Angevins laid the foundations of our legal system. The institution of the King's Court at Westminster, and the provision of itinerant justices to visit the shires so that none might be denied reasonably speedy justice, are the two main steps; moreover, herein are demonstrated the twin ideas that justice is the same everywhere, for it is the King's and not that of the southern counties where penalties may be milder than those of the north, and that justice shall be administered by experts and not by amateurs. By the end of the twelfth century Glanvil and Bracton could write legal textbooks which prove the existence of national law and of an universal law. Gradually, very gradually, local courts were got rid of, until the village poacher was judged by the king's representative and not by the landowner he had principally offended,¹ and until (within certain limits), even the professed servants of God became answerable to the King and not to the bishop. If what we know of mediæval law makes its administration and enforcement seem harsh to us, we must remember it was a stern age; when, if punishment was not swift and awful,

¹ The two were again almost equated when Justices of the Peace were invented.

crime would increase unchecked. There was, we have to remember, no centrally controlled police force for the prevention of crime and the arrest of criminals. The legal system is customarily rather behind the times as regards its sense of proportion, for it must not alter until it is certain the change will be altogether in accordance with contemporary requirements. The list of offences punishable, until comparatively recently, by death or by transportation for life to a penal settlement, may seem to us an extraordinary one, containing as it does sheep-stealing and petty larceny, but even now we are, legally speaking, not altogether humane.

For the development and growth of English law and the classification thereof the reader must be referred to a text-book. Here it will suffice if there are indicated some of its more vital conceptions, and it is emphasised that these are not our logical birthright, but the legacy of our predecessors, chief among whom are to be held England's earliest rulers from overseas and their officials. Not only are there wrongs to be punished, but rights of the individual citizen to be preserved, and on the English legal system rests our health, our personal and public security, and our peace of mind. As legal points have arisen in public for the first time, the king's judges have by their decisions caused a settlement of them to pass by precedent into the law of the land, for subsequent revision as circumstances may dictate; as required, the King in Parliament, once this institution comes into existence, provides necessary laws of general application in the form of statutes and acts. The Representation of the People Acts, all extremely recent, have ensured that within the obvious limits all men make the laws of the realm, and that all, save the King, should be subject to the Rule of Law. This legal maxim, 'the King can do no wrong,' together with certain privileges of immunity belonging to the Peerage and Members of the House of Commons and the Diplomatic Corps, was for long almost the sole survival of a mediæval legal system which evolved from privilege and immunity. Broadly speaking, much of our national heritage lies in the interpretation of this maxim, whether it was construed as meaning 'the acts of the King are above criticism' or 'the King cannot be held responsible; responsibility rests with his officials, against whom proceedings can

be taken by the ordinary citizen.' Herein, very largely, lies the core of the country's struggle against the Stuart monarchy. Recent legislation aims at removing the last vestiges of inability to proceed against 'the Crown' as represented by its servants.

Since the King was originally thought of as the source of law, and as ultimate owner of all England, it still holds that where a person dies intestate and there are no kindred of such degree as are provided for in an Act of 1925, his 'estate' passes to the Duchy of Lancaster, that is, to the Crown.

Though comparatively recently the whole legal and judicial system of England has been overhauled, the basic ideas and structure are the product of mediævalism. Certain 'legal maxims,' the result of common-sense thinking, and not of statute or judgment, govern the law's actions; these we might almost call the product of custom. Either in their original Latin or in an English translation, they are familiar to all of us: *caveat emptor*, let the buyer beware; *qui facit per alium facit per se*, who does it by means of an agent does it himself; *ignorantia juris neminem excusat*, ignorance of the law is no excuse; *audi alteram partem*, hear both sides; *salus populi suprema lex*, the supreme law is the welfare of the people; for example. The names of the constituent parts of the High Court of Justice—King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, and so on—are all derived from mediæval conceptions. The system of sending judges on circuit to hold assizes in the shires is of mediæval origin, dating from the time when it was found essential to despatch the King's justice all over England to ensure that justice should be national and not local. So too are features such as the robes of Judges, the provision of a Judge's Marshal and Chaplain, and all the pageantry of Assizes with their sermons and services and legal ritual. Students of the law in mediæval times were inclined to congregate near Westminster, the home of the Court, and between Westminster and the City are to be found the residences of the lawyers, not only the modern survivals of Lincoln's and Gray's Inns and the Inner and Middle Temples, but also ancient foundations like Clifford's Inn, recently demolished and reconstructed, Furnival's Inn, and others.

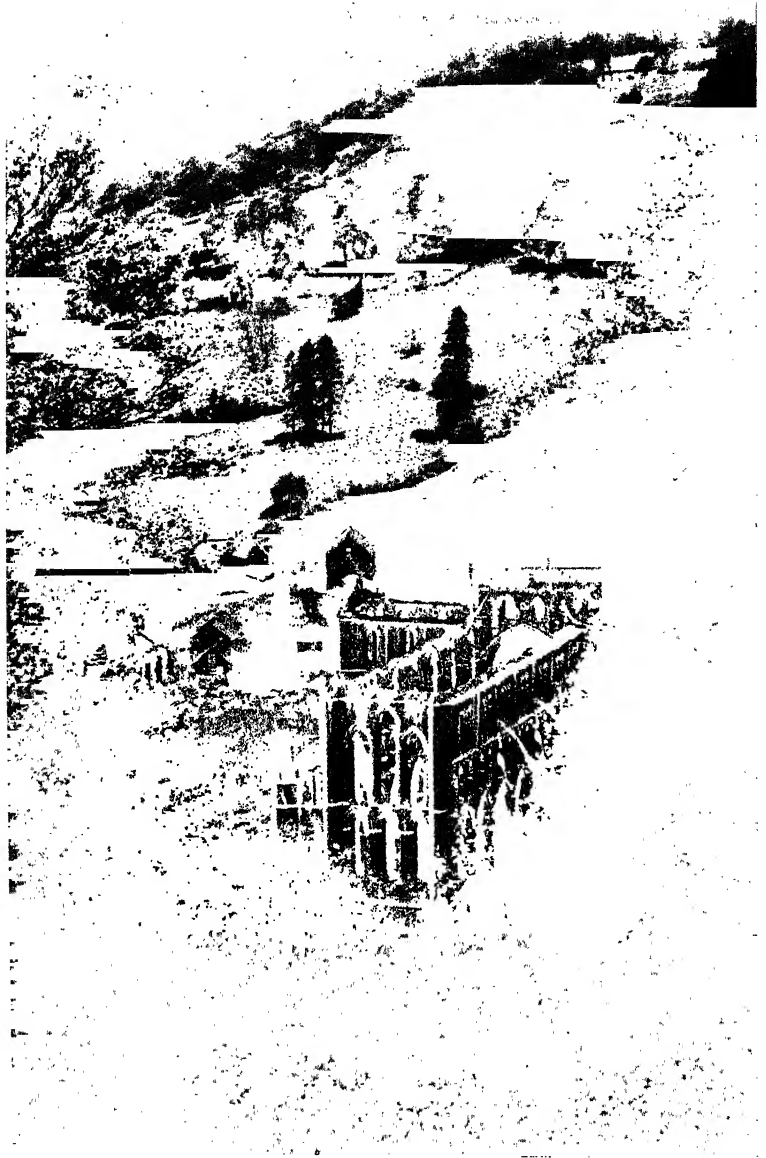
Our legal terms, in consequence of their origin, are for the



THAXTED CHURCH

“Men built, in honour of God and His church, the finest work they could ”

(p. 132.)



RIEVAULX ABBEY

"The type of site beloved by the Cistercians, in a lonely northern dale"
(p. 140.)

most part derived from Norman-French, and in view of the fact that we are with Henry II still only a hundred years distant from Hastings, we find many common present-day phrases, of legal origin, in a dual form, with one word English and one Norman-French, like 'will and testament,' 'law and order,' 'goods and chattels.' But the majority of the English legal terms are Norman-French, like *jury*, *larceny*, *perjury*, *asset*, *embezzle*. To the period of the judicial reforms of Henry II we owe the development of the jury system, for in this reign itinerant justices were sent to the chief court of every count, and there twelve local men well known to be honest listened to the evidence presented and returned their verdict. Remember that the day of Parliament is not yet, so that the laws are not being made by Act of Parliament but develop from the various decisions of the King's justices, thus producing a code which we still know as the Common Law. If what we call an offence against the Common Law seems to us an obvious perversion of decency, we ought to remember that in the twelfth century it was not so; for example it had to be determined that the Sheriff had no right arbitrarily to levy fines broadcast over the countryside for an offence brought home to no individual.

Henry, moreover, had to bring the Church within the scope of the law. A religious revival, a reorganisation of the Church in these early Middle Ages, had raised the enthusiasm of clerics and laymen alike for Holy Church; it was the great age of the foundation of monasteries and abbeys, of the building of cathedrals and churches. The Church possessed almost as much power in the land as the baronage, for not only were the leading lords of the Church mighty landowners and magnates, but as the learned men of the realm they were the King's chief advisers and powerful members of his Council. The Church indeed thought itself equal in status with the Crown; it claimed the right not only to make laws for its members but also to judge and punish offenders for crimes against the law of the realm as opposed to moral offences, and usually accorded them a penalty less severe than would the civil courts. To Henry II's partial success in forcing the Church to acknowledge the civil authority we owe the fact that a clergyman committing any crime other than an offence against

ecclesiastical discipline is tried by the ordinary courts of the land exactly as if he were a layman.

There is here no room to discuss in detail the various styles of architecture which the Middle Ages produced, and in any case it is much better to study the results in the remains of the actual buildings. We find great diversity of appearance; a diversity due not only to the exigencies of local situation—the cramped thoroughfares of mediæval cities or the hillock commanding the village stream—but to the availability of types of building material. But the masons and woodwrights did not confine themselves to local produce; stone was transported by water to districts where there was none. Thus we find limestone churches not solely throughout the belt which runs from Dorset to north-east Yorkshire; brownish in the ironstone districts of the central midlands, blued where the stone is carboniferous further north. Further west we find the old red sandstone, and elsewhere granite, flint, and brick. Interior stone-work, as does wood-work, takes many forms, and ranges from the marble of Purbeck and the continent to Caen stone.

The Romanesque church appears to be pressing into the ground on which it stands; the Gothic building seems rather to be about to rise lightly from the earth. Often in the earlier period a spire fits closely on the tower; the buttresses are solid and projecting; doors and windows are tall and pointed. The major development of Gothic architecture was the employment of elaborate and harmonious decoration; the windows are not mere openings, but patterns in the framework; the sculptor and his carvings become of an importance equal to that of the mason. The spire is no longer a cap to the tower; it rests within a parapet.

But it is rare to find successive periods of architectural theory uncombined in the individual building. It must be stressed that hardly any ecclesiastical building in England is the product of a few years, but rather of several centuries. Salisbury, where a new site had to be found for the town and its buildings, is one of the few cathedrals produced (save for the tower and spire) within a comparatively short period. This is the great age of the cathedrals, Wells, Gloucester, York and Winchester, and of the abbeys of the Yorkshire dales, Fountains,

Bolton, Jervaulx, and of the English lowlands, Waverley, Christchurch, Evesham. It is almost true to say that this period of the Middle Ages is the great period of contrasts. There was in them much which was cruel and lustful and immoral, and by contrast there was never before or since such an age when men wrought so mightily to the glory of God and His Church. Certain men and women found the world very evil, and, horrified at its general tendencies, sought for peace of mind and security of body inside the walls of a monastery or nunnery. The power of the Catholic Church was at its height; the Dark Ages were a time of uncritical superstitious credulity; and so the ecclesiastical institutions became sure places of refuge, for no ordinary man, whatever other crimes he might commit, would dare carry his wrath or his passion to the steps of the altar. Either a man was a member of Mother Church or he was a social and moral outcast, and the power of the priest to outlaw a violator of her decrees from the general communion made, if not for moderation, for a fearful respect of her powers. A man under the ban of the Church, to the average mediæval mind, was as unhappily situated, with his soul in peril of eternal damnation, as a man in the darkest dungeon of a robber baron, with his body in fear of eternal torment while life lasted. It was the duty of every faithful son of the Catholic Church to contribute his share to her maintenance, and the cathedrals and abbeys grew to their full beauty not as they would have done if their limitations had been that of a contractor with a prescribed amount for his wage-bill and materials, but because all men might labour at or contribute to God's work without hope of reward other than that of adding to the chances of their soul's salvation.¹ And that was of paramount importance; either a man was saved by his life, faith and works, or body and soul would suffer everlasting damnation and reside in hell fire, tortured by devils and the powers of darkness, or at best endure a period of purgatory. And if the poor man gave his labour and his manual skill to expiate his petty sins, the rich noble, to compound for his more spectacular offences of murder and theft and rape, contributed money and gear. It is no wonder that, following

¹ I do not, of course, deny that much *professional* skill was employed in their construction.

the general habit of a more critical outlook on religious belief, the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries in their ecclesiastical buildings fell far short of the ecstasy of the Middle Ages. Churches and chapels were frequently constructed rather for convenience and on a sound business basis than for the sake of an ideal of beauty and fine workmanship; and not one, save a few of Sir Christopher Wren's, lingers in the memory.¹

The same spirit (and the ostentation of the early capitalist) produced the English parish church. Everywhere we find churches which in a district containing a few score souls will comfortably hold some hundreds; this is not because the English countryside was once more densely populated than it is now, but because men built, in honour of God and His Church, the finest work they could, irrespective of mundane considerations. It is true that there may have been a worldly motive as well, for a church with stout walls, a lofty tower, and on a slight eminence—God's House must overlook other dwelling-places—was a fine place of refuge in time of danger from war or flood.

Guide-books give much space to the architectural details of a local cathedral, abbey, or parish church, but certain constructional features are by no means universal, and deserve mention. Very roughly speaking, mediæval places of worship divide into three portions: the eastern section about the high altar, to which the celebrant clergy alone had the right of entry; the choir; and the nave, where the lay folk sat. The earliest English churches reproduced the idea of the Roman public hall or *basilica*, for English Christianity derived mainly from Rome. A nave, little longer than it is broad, ends in a semi-circular projection which contains the altar, and lies beyond the railed-off chancel east of the nave, and if the nave is so wide as to cause additional support for the roof to be essential, pillars divide the nave into aisles. Later developments may include an aisle, north of the nave, so that graves—usually to the south—are undisturbed; the lengthening of the chancel, giving room for a choir between nave and altar; and the addition of a vestry on its northern side. The entrance is normally on the south side, through the graveyard; the later

¹ It would be interesting to see what a subsequent age thinks of the twentieth-century cathedral at Liverpool.

additions are often a porch, and a priest's entrance and possibly a north entrance with porch also; a western tower; and a chapel between south aisle and chancel. Across the east end of the nave ran a screen bearing a rood or cross and with an altar at its western foot; thus those not in holy orders were separate from the mysteries of Holy Church, but with a constant reminder before them of the Cross, the sacred symbol of their common faith, and of the consecrated altar. The crypt, not altogether a familiar aspect of the English cathedral or church, served to enclose the tomb and the relics of a martyr or the place of his martyrdom, secure against disaster at ground level, such as flood or perhaps fire. The construction of a crypt has this added benefit, that since it is normally at the east it elevates the altar above it into the full view of the congregation. Clergy not officiating at the service in progress sat on what are known as *sedilia* against a chancel wall. After the celebration of the Mass the Cup had to be cleansed and the priest's hands washed; hence we find a *piscina* into which the water so used was emptied. Often a church porch still contains a *stoup*, the basin of holy water into which those entering the church dipped their fingers before they crossed themselves as a sign of reverence. To address his flock the priest left the altar precincts, so we find the pulpit and lectern at the head of the nave and west of the choir. Occasionally pulpits stood outside the church; a good example can be seen in the quadrangle of Magdalen College, Oxford, nearest the High. To ensure that all had a view of the altar, the chancel walls or supporting pillars are pierced, such openings being known as 'squints.' Opinion differs as to whether certain openings in the wall of the church were for the convenience of lepers, who by their help might see the altar or partake of the sacrament of the Mass without infecting the congregation, or whether they served to enable an official to warn the bell-ringer when to sound the Angelus and the Elevation of the Host. The font and lectern, chests and alms-boxes, complete the principal features.

There are few parish churches of any antiquity which do not possess a single bell or a ring of bells. I am not sure that the tower of the parish church is the obvious place for the belfry, even though the bells would ring to warn people of the

time of service in the church beneath or as a signal of alarm, when, in the absence of a better defensive position, the church was the obvious rallying-point. Castles have their belfries too, and the bells hung in a church tower need not all be church property, but may belong to the town, and may be used purely for secular purposes or joined with the church bells for ringing a peal. There are towns in which the curfew bell is still rung, perhaps at eight p.m. as it was formerly, warning the inhabitants that by an ordinance which dates at least to William the Norman's conquest of England fires should be covered¹ and the inhabitants remain indoors, so that the conquerors might rest undisturbed by fear of a local revolt. 'Great Tom' at Oxford tolls 101 times at 9.5 p.m., registering the number of students on the foundation, Christ Church, which houses it; a bell is still rung at Stamford to indicate the opening of Quarter Sessions. Mediæval survivals—and bells must have been used far more than they are to-day, for there were no newspapers or watches and few striking clocks—are to be found in instances such as the "Oven Bell," which once warned tenants that their lord's oven was hot enough to begin the business of baking the dough they themselves had kneaded, and the 'Pancake Bell' which summoned men and women to confession on Shrove Tuesday or Shrivings Tuesday (though some would have it that it warned housewives to start frying the pancakes ready for the return of their husbands from church). The Passing Bell is still commonly used, rung to encourage all Christian souls to pause and pray for the soul of the recently departed, and perhaps to frighten away devils hovering to seize the released soul.

To some church doors is attached an iron ring or knocker. A criminal might be so stained with sin that he dare not approach the altars of the church, but all about a church is holy ground. Let him lay hold of the sanctuary ring or knocker and demand admittance, and he came under the Church's protection; the most hot-blooded pursuer would hesitate to arrest or slay his enemy at the door of such a refuge. Durham Cathedral contains a famous example.

The older churches, as well as the cathedrals, contain not only the sculptured effigies of the dead but memorial brasses

¹ Curfew is from *couvre-feu*, to 'cover the fire.'

as well, which tell us much of the costume and armour of the period in which the originals lived. It has been said that those stone representations (and of course only the well-born and wealthy were accorded or could be afforded such a dignity) which recline with their feet on a hound are of men who died in peace and not on the battle-field; guide-books are apt to suggest that if the feet are crossed the effigy is that of a Crusader. This has been vigorously denied, since some of the illustrious dead so represented are known not to have gone overseas. The denial need not, however, be too sweeping. It was quite common for men to 'take the Cross' with no thought of joining in a Crusading campaign; they may have paid a substitute to go, and moreover Crusades were not directed solely against the Saracen in the East. Attacks on the heathen Moors of Spain or against the pagans of East Prussia counted as Crusades, and either the furnishing of a warrior or participation in a near-European conflict with the foes of Christ may have entitled a knight to have his feet crossed in his effigy, if such an attitude *is* the mark of a Crusader.

The artistic enthusiasm of the age gave us, in our churches and cathedrals, wall paintings of the type to be seen in Westminster Abbey or in the remains of Cleve Abbey in Somerset; some of the stained glass which decorates buildings such as York Minster; the carved shrines of which Westminster Abbey again affords good examples, and the wood-carving, not only of framework but of seats, as in the stalls at Ripon Cathedral, where mediæval imagination enjoyed full rein and produced what, to a modern mind, are somewhat irreverent representations of foxes and geese and bishops with asses' heads and monks with toothache. Chester Cathedral has some good carvings; there is a notable elephant on a stall in the choir, and the Dean's stall indicates to the layman the family tree of Our Lord from Jesse onwards. Chester also possesses modern carvings on the corbels of the south transept, representing Disraeli defending the Crown against Dr. Kenealy and Gladstone overthrowing the Irish Church, for example. Mediæval convention has not quite passed away. The vividness of the mediæval imagination and the delicacy of the work can be appreciated by anyone who will inspect the Luttrell Psalter or the Wilton Diptych.

Mediæval crosses are everywhere. Not only do they mark the place of a market, but are of ecclesiastical significance as well; they may mark preaching stations or, like the tombstone, be erected in pious memory of the departed. Edward I, for example, erected a cross wherever the corpse of his Queen, brought from Nottinghamshire to London for burial, rested for the night, and three of these Eleanor Crosses, at Northampton, Geddington, and Waltham, survive.

A cathedral is properly the consecrated building which contains the throne of the bishop of the diocese; if there are two thrones, there are two cathedrals, as at Bath and Wells, but the double diocese of Sodor, the 'South Islands,'¹ and Man, has only one. Certain churches, and cathedrals as well, have acquired the name 'minster'—Westminster is instantly remembered, and York Minster is another common example—the term indicates the connection of a cathedral with a monastery, though monks need not have served with the cathedral church, for those cathedrals with a monastic connection are those of Bath, Canterbury, Carlisle, Coventry, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester and Worcester. But some of these—e.g. Coventry—are really late foundations, though an earlier monastic connection is to be presumed. Other cathedral churches were served by secular canons, who had no monastic links; these include York, Lincoln, Salisbury, Exeter, Chichester, Hereford and Wells. Five bishoprics—Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough—owe their origins to Henry VIII; many, including Ripon, St. Albans, and Southwark, are of comparatively modern origin, though often the cathedral *church* is of ancient foundation and dignity. Their main officials, the bishop and his chaplain apart, were the Dean, the *decanus* who perhaps had charge over ten of his subordinates, but was rather the chapter's president, the Precentor, responsible for the choral work, the Chancellor, into whose care was entrusted the legal and administrative work of the diocese, and the Treasurer who supervised its finances. *Decani* and *cantoris*, the south and north side of the choir respectively, remind us that here were the stalls of dean and precentor.

¹ 'South' to the Scandinavians of the Orkneys and Shetlands; it was their name for the Hebrides.

Cathedral architecture is outside the scope of this work. We may remember, however, that a cathedral was the scene of ceremony and prayer rather than of services for a local population, and needed more than one altar for the celebration of numerous masses, and a quantity of chapels to house holy relics and the bones of benefactors. The lay-out of a cathedral, especially if of ancient origin, is thus more elaborate than that of the average parish church. The plan is usually cruciform, and transepts project north and south of the east end of the nave; there may even be, beyond the high altar, a retro-choir, or Lady Chapel.

Monasticism had of course entered England during the Anglo-Saxon period, and Celtic monasticism is of even earlier origin. Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in Durham were famed even on the Continent, and there were great abbeys in the Fens: Croyland and Peterborough and Bardney, for example. The Danes burnt and sacked many of these, but shortly before the Norman Conquest there occurred a monastic revival, exemplified by Harold's abbey of Waltham in Essex, and Edward the Confessor's foundation at Westminster dedicated to St. Peter, the beginning of Westminster Abbey, later to become the national shrine, the Church of the coronation and the burial-place of many kings and heroes.

'Monks and nuns' are lumped together in the mind of the layman as the constituent ecclesiastical population of mediæval England, yet historical romances are full of other and less obvious terms. Colour enters largely into the story; there is a familiar song about the 'friar of orders grey.' Benedictines and Cluniacs, the one followers of the Rule of St. Benedict and the others, sworn to revive the Benedictine ideal, under the presidency of the Abbot of Cluny in Burgundy, are the 'Black Monks,' but the Cluniac rule took little hold in England, and their only great houses were at Bermondsey, Barnstaple and Lewes. The pre-Conquest monasteries are all Benedictine, and so among the oldest monastic institutions in England are those of Peterborough, Bury St. Edmunds, and Glastonbury, together with Canterbury, St. Augustine's foundation. Late in the eleventh century the 'White Monks,' so named from their white gowns contrasting with the sombre Benedictine black, came into existence at Cîteaux, very largely as the result of the

work of an Englishman, Stephen Harding. These Cistercians came to England very early, and their first foundation was Waverley in Surrey. Their development was assured by a method of 'colonising,' by which one established house sent forth a pioneer band and founded a daughter-monastery, if possible far from the common haunt of men and the bustle of towns. Waverley, founded in 1128, and Tintern in Monmouthshire, in existence three years later, sent forth no colonists, but Rievaulx in north Yorkshire sponsored Melrose on the Tweed, Fountains on the banks of the Skell outside Ripon was the mother of Kirkstall hard by Leeds and of Woburn in Bedfordshire, from France came the monks who raised Furness, and Buckfastleigh in Devon. There were seventy-five Cistercian houses in England within a century of the foundation of the Order, and to them was largely due the repopulation of Yorkshire and its restoration to the position of a fertile farming district after William the Conqueror's Harrying of the North. The Carthusians, followers of St. Bruno of Chartreuse, who founded his Order at much the same time as that of the Cistercians, came to England rather later. Witham and Hinton, both in Somerset, were founded in 1180 and 1227 respectively. Little of their building remains, for the houses and churches they built were small, since the brethren lived not a communal life but a solitary one in individual cells. Mount Grace in Yorkshire is almost the only survival, but the name of the Charterhouse has remained in London, though the school has gone to Godalming, and has been immortalised by Thackeray. The names if not the deeds of the monks are familiar if only from their inspiration of the liqueurs for which their headquarters were famous, Chartreuse and Benedictine. Both Cistercians and Carthusians were in fact offshoots of Benedictine monasticism.

Friars were originally poor wandering preachers, by their vows sworn to possess no personal property. The ideal lasted but a short time, and within a few years of the coming of the friars in the thirteenth century they were beginning to found monasteries and nunneries. Four main orders settled in England, besides minor ones, Dominicans—nicknamed *Domini Canes*, Watchdogs of the Lord—Franciscans, who wore the brown habit and girdle generally associated with a friar,

Carmelites and Austins. Besides the religious who settled in communities, individual men and women would adopt the life of a hermit or anchorite, and retire to a lonely cell or cave for a life of contemplation.

Besides the purely religious there were also the military orders, familiar to readers of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*, though these too had an ecclesiastical basis. At the beginning of the twelfth century the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the Hospitallers, defenders of Malta against the heathen, came to England. The Knights Templar arrived rather later, and were suppressed as early as 1312. Their name they gave to the Temple, now the home of lawyers, and to certain villages with this prefix; their churches, characteristically round, can be seen in the Temple itself, at Northampton, and at Cambridge.

The remains of the ecclesiastical buildings which we see to-day are survivals of a stage in development far in advance of the foundations of the early Middle Ages, for by the sixteenth century they had reached their height of luxury and completeness, and their growth was a gradual one. In almost every case, following the erection of wattled huts for the brethren, the church must first have been constructed, very often cruciform in outline. Next come the cloisters, the centre of the life of the community except for the services of the church. Here the monks worked and studied, with their manuscript books stored conveniently near, for libraries come late in the history of monastic construction. In winter weather cloisters must have been almost impossibly cold and exposed to weather, and even if they were boarded against wind and rain it was not rare for there to be enclosed cubicles in the cloisters, of stone with wood overlaid. The chapter house was the common meeting place for the business of the community, the abbot having his own private study or parlour, as did executive officials such as the sacrist, the abbey bailiff, and the prior. Above the chapter house was placed the monks' dormitory or dormitory, which invariably communicated with the church, for it was the business of the monk to attend the night Offices, Matins and Lauds. Since these occurred, ultimately, at midnight (when the monastic day began), Lauds immediately or almost immediately following Matins, direct communication

between dormitory and church, perhaps by a night-stair, as at Hexham, was essential. Besides these rooms there were the refectory or dining hall and the kitchen which supplied it, and sometimes a private kitchen for the abbot and his influential guests, a guest hall for reception and entertainment, and an infirmary for the benefit of ailing brethren.

An abbey standing in the midst of a town needed fewer supplementaries than one in the type of site beloved by the Cistercians, a lonely northern dale. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *Sir Nigel* and *The White Company* have much to say about the possessions of the great houses of Waverley and Beaulieu, and the Cistercians were by tradition and rule farmers and labourers. Vegetable and herb gardens ministered to the brethren's wants; fishponds provided the fare which took the place of meat on fast days. So far as was possible, Cistercian communities aimed at being independent altogether of the outside world; as landowners they owned wide farms on which the brethren as well as the abbey's tenants worked, the produce of which, ground in the abbey mills, was stored in barns and granges close to the abbey buildings. Bakery and brewery, vineyard and orchard, complete the tale; but it should be remembered that the Cistercians were sheep-farmers as well as monks. No doubt their habits were woven by their tenants, but the principle of a self-supporting community was not pushed to extremes, for the monks of Fountains obtained their sandals and clogs from Thorpe in Wharfedale, a good thirty miles away across the Pennine fells.

It is difficult to find a district of England without evidence of monastic occupation. Including the canonries (canons were the clergy who served a cathedral or cathedral church and who, though living in accordance with a monastic rule, were free to move about the country), of which three orders were known in England—Augustinians, Praemonstratensians, and Gilbertines—there would seem to have been at the Dissolution of the Monasteries nearly five hundred religious houses in England, not counting small foundations, of which, so far as male establishments are concerned, Benedictines and Cistercians contributed about one hundred each.

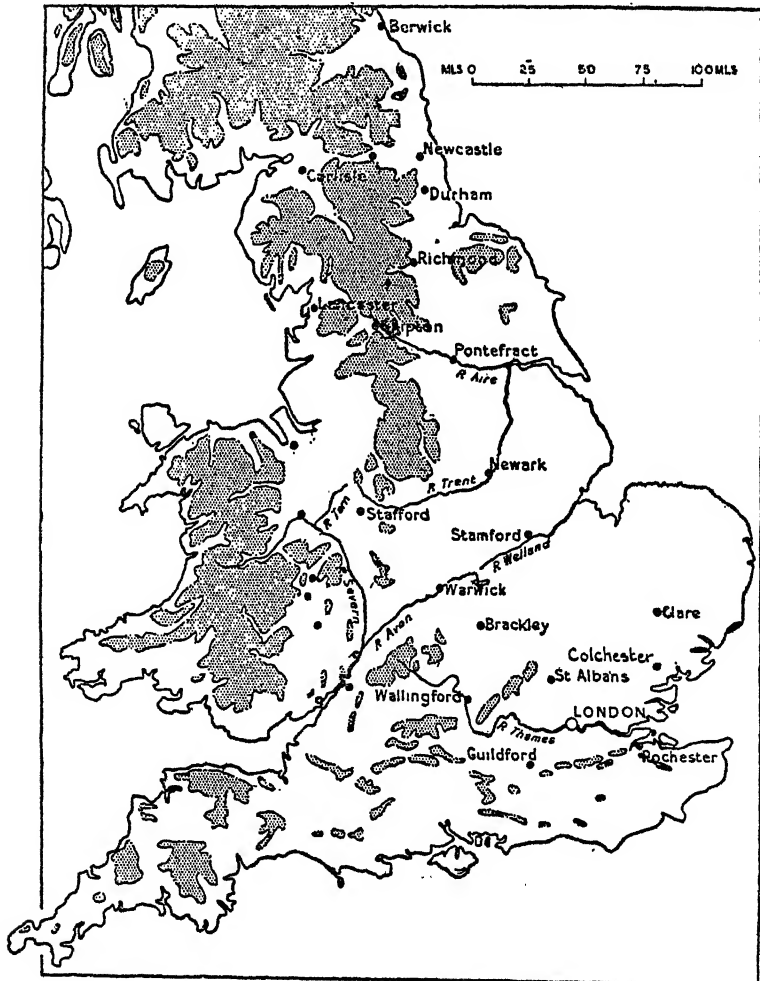
The mediæval hospital, though it may have become the modern general infirmary, as in the case of St. Bartholomew's

in London, originally founded by Rahere, Henry I's jester, in 1123, was rather an almshouse where the aged and infirm, the poor and distressed, might find relief and help. The abbey foundations assisted in the work of comforting those in sorrow and protecting those in need, but, quite independently of monasteries and churches, we find in most ancient towns long-established provision for the bodily and mentally afflicted. St. Cross's in Winchester is a classic instance, supporting pensioners too old and broken to earn a living or deprived of the assistance of relatives, and offering to the impoverished wayfarer a humble dole of bread and beer. Chantry are of common occurrence, owing their existence to the provision by testament of a fund for the support of a chantry priest, who in return for shelter and food said daily prayers and performed the ceremony of the Mass in a tiny chapel for the repose of the soul of the dead. Chantry chapels are often to be found in the larger churches.

The period is also the great age of the English castle. The Norman castle, at least the earlier ones, had been little beyond a wooden erection with a protection of earthworks, of the type known as 'motte and bailey'; the 'motte' a great mound, surrounded by a bridged ditch, protected by a wooden palisade, while across the ditch the 'bailey,' also palisaded, afforded shelter for the household and the cattle. The first Norman castle at York was built by the Conqueror in eight days, and can have been no more than a 'motte and bailey' castle with perhaps a wooden tower added. Half-way through the twelfth century the prevalence of stone-built castles begins; some mere private dwelling-houses, others the defensive and refuge-point of an important town or the guardian of a pass or road-junction, others still (particularly at the time of the conquest of Wales), the homes of large garrisons. The extent to which England was covered with castles can best be judged from the number of the survivals, considering that the age of castle-building was a short one. They were costly to build and to maintain; artillery, against which no castle could stand, came early into use, and mediæval warfare quickly became a thing of the pitched battle rather than of the siege. In the reign of Edward III 181 licences to 'crenellate' or fortify were granted, in that of Henry V only one; in a hundred years only a few

dozen *military* castles were built, the rest were mere ostentatious dwelling-houses.

The ruins of the mediæval castles as we know them to-day are found, often enough, in places of little importance in the modern scheme. The Scottish border with the Pennines is a



MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND

Land over 600 ft. high has been shaded. The dots indicate some of the principal castles and the way in which these guarded the passes between the hills and the approaches to London.

place of farms and deserts, without a town of much importance inside the triangle formed by Carlisle, Newcastle, and Leeds, but once castles had to stand to guard the frontier, the river-crossings and the passes which enabled the Scots forays to reach the Vale of York and the Cheshire plain, and so, apart from sites of permanent importance, like Lancaster or Durham, we find some of England's largest castles in places like Alnwick and Norham; Appleby, Richmond, and Middleham, guarding the passes through the Eden, Swale and Ure valleys; Clare on the road from Norwich to London and Marlborough on that from Bristol. The maps on pp. 142, 145, will give an idea of the general scheme of English mediæval warfare.

The approaches to London from the south are guarded by Rochester, at the passage of the Medway, by Guildford, behind the gaps through the hills crossing the Portsmouth Road, and by an arc of unnamed castles. The approach from the north-east is protected by Clare and Colchester, and, nearer London, by the Forest of Epping and the Essex marshes.

The chief castles which guard the midland plains from an attack from Wales are indicated but unnamed; from north to south they are Chester, Shrewsbury, Ludlow, Wigmore, Hereford, Gloucester, Berkeley and Chepstow.

Any force meditating a descent on London from the south-west, or wishing to effect a junction with an army in the south, must secure Wallingford, the only convenient crossing of the Thames: it is practically impossible to pass the Thames between here and London. An army moving from the Welsh border has either to travel round the north of the Cotswolds, or, if it forces the passage of the lower Severn, to cross the Thames, or it must isolate itself from its base in the country south of the Thames.

Entry into England from Scotland must follow either the western route by way of Carlisle, Appleby, and Lancaster, or the eastern route by way of Berwick (the crossing of the Tweed), Corbridge or Newcastle (the passage of the Tyne). These last alternative routes concentrate at Durham, and so lead into the Vale of York. Communication between the two main eastern and western routes is by way of the Aire Gap and Skipton or up the Eden and along the Yorkshire dales leading east or south-east.

Armies in the north and north midlands must ultimately

move towards London, for London is the capital and the seat of government. A force in the north-west midlands has to pass between the Pennines and the Welsh mountains, and to cross the Avon: since it must do this where the river is still fairly narrow, Warwick guards the western approach. A force concentrated in Yorkshire has to pass between the Pennines and the Humber and Trent marshes: Pontefract commands the gap. It must then cross the Trent, at Newark or Nottingham, and either pass the Welland at Stamford with a view to joining a west midland force in the neighbourhood of Brackley or Northampton, or turn through Oakham to cross at Rockingham and effect the concentration near Warwick. Since the Chilterns interpose a barrier, a later concentration, or the joint route, must depend upon St. Albans.

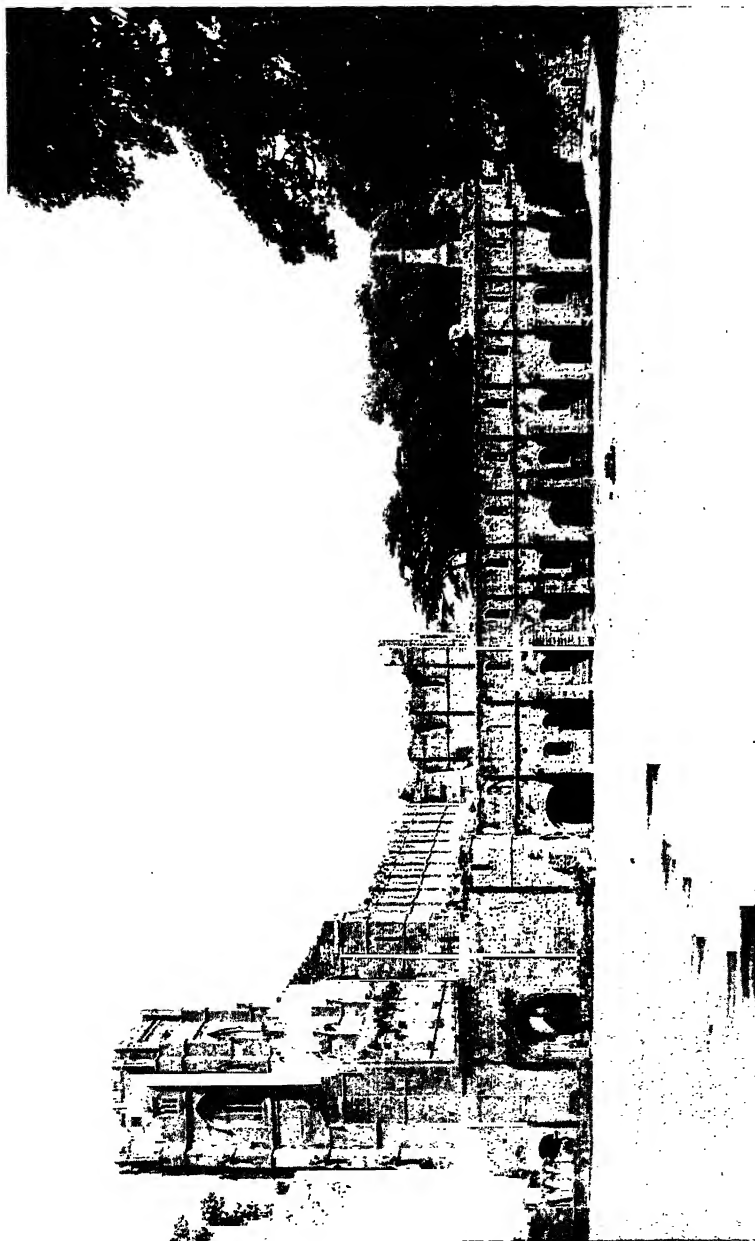
Hence the chief battles of the Middle Ages are Evesham, in the area enclosed by Severn, Avon, and Trent; Wakefield and Towton near Pontefract; Shrewsbury and Tewkesbury between Wales and London; St. Albans and Barnet between the chief area of concentration (Warwick-Brackley-Northampton) and London; and Bosworth near Leicester, again in the Severn-Avon-Welland-Trent area.

It was the influence of the Crusades which produced the type of castle with which we are most familiar. The defence of the outer walls was improved by constructing projecting towers at various points in them, and the keep, now regarded as the last place of refuge, defended not by one but by surrounding walls. Keeps began to be built in a cylindrical instead of a square form, since such a shape made them both less susceptible to attack and also easier for the defenders to fire on the besiegers; it is impossible from one side of a rectangular tower to hurl missiles at an enemy assaulting another side at a right angle to it. We see this type of castle at its best in some of those which Edward I had built to hold down his newly-conquered Principality of Wales, such as Conway and Caernarvon, Kidwelly and Builth. Conway, dropping straight down into the tidal estuary of the river which gave the town its name, and approachable from other sides only over mountains and through marsh, is practically impregnable. The permanent garrison of Conway was indeed only thirty men. There were, in fact, only two ways in which to reduce a strong castle



FLEMISH WEAVERS' COTTAGES, LAVENHAM

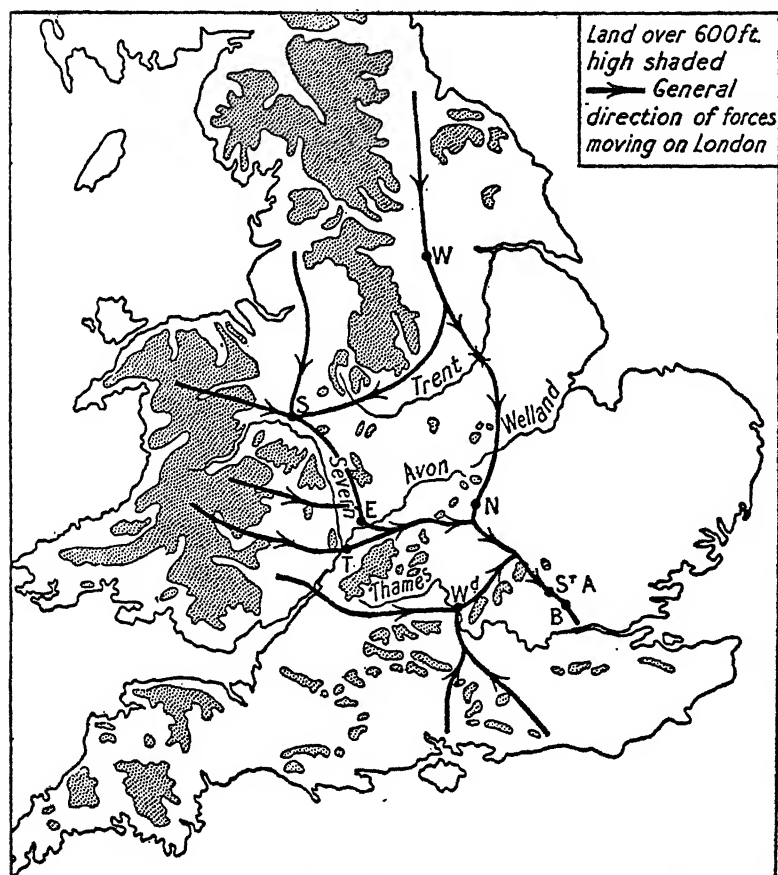
"England is full of small country towns, the ancient wealth and importance of which are to-day still manifest" (p. 176.)



FOUNTAINS ABBEY

“The abbeyes and monasteries are ruined . . . because they were plundered” (p. 191.)

adequately garrisoned and well disciplined: one was by starvation; the other to undermine the walls and make an assault through the breach so formed. Even so, a relieving force was probably in existence within a short distance of the besieged garrison, while tunnelling was impracticable where a castle was situated upon rock, and mining operations were hampered by a vertical rain of boulders and weapons and



WARFARE IN ENGLAND.

Land over 600 feet high has been shaded. The arrows indicate the general direction of forces moving on London. W=Wakefield; N=Northampton; S=Shrewsbury; St. A.=St. Albans; E.=Evesham; B=Barnet; T=Tewkesbury; Wd.=Wallingford.

blazing material upon the enemy and their wooden protections. The battering ram was equally subject to this form of assault, and mechanically propelled missiles would scarcely reach the keep once the system of outer fortification was perfected. But how little the mediæval castle could endure against the power of gunpowder is displayed by the siege of Bamborough in 1464, when almost the strongest fortress in England was reduced to surrender in a week.

Out of the castle grows the English country house, though this must be dealt with in greater detail in the chapter on the Tudor period. The simplest forms of a nobleman's country residence are the hall and the tower, the tall single building found in the country liable to be devastated by raids of the Scots, with successive stories of which the lowest can be used as a harbour for cattle in time of danger, and the first residential one is reached by a ladder from ground level to avoid an easily assaulted front door. To this type of residence and to the early castle, rooms and outbuildings are added as occasion arises and as the chance of their being burnt down by a raiding enemy decreases; it is very rare indeed to find a house of which the whole construction is approximately of the same period. It is obvious that the early castle, as regards its living rooms, consisted mainly of a hall and nothing else, for a great hall would serve as a dining-room, a sleeping-room for such as were not worthy of the dignity of separate bedrooms in an upper story or within the thickness of the wall, a recreation room and sitting-room, and a common meeting-place. The size of the great hall of a castle, say that of Oakham, gives some idea of mediæval housing of a crowd; in time of stress the hall might have to accommodate the townspeople driven from their unprotected huts and houses. The refinement of a separate kitchen and *solar* or parlour comes later, and if we want to examine the mediæval conception of house-planning, we have only to inspect one of the earlier Colleges at Oxford or at Cambridge. The kitchen, the pantry or larder, and the buttery from whence the drinks are served, are separated from the hall by a passage, that the owner (in the case of a private dwelling) may not be disturbed by the movement of his retainers in quest of food or drink or affected by the preparation of his food in his sitting-room. To check the draught

which arises from the passage and the doors opening from it, screens cut it off from the hall. All these features are preserved in the general arrangement of the College of mediæval origin, the existence of a private chapel and of a withdrawing-room opening out of the hall at the other end from the screens also. Great houses like Raby in Durham or Broughton in Oxfordshire illustrate the gradual development of the English country house; it is significant that so many preserve as their title the word for the original room. 'The Hall,' as a village's chief mansion, is a familiar epithet.

It is with the Middle Ages that the English town first really comes into importance. In an age when transport was still a matter of extreme difficulty, there could be little inter-communication between town and town, which accounts for the fact that the number of comparatively important places was far greater in the Middle Ages than it is now. Towns like Devizes and Stamford and Beverley, of small importance to-day, were then, from their position as market-towns to a considerable district, if not in the first rank at least in the second. The town, as a centre of trade and, since it owed its existence to its physical situation, as a focal point in the military scheme, was a place where the average inhabitant prospered more than his brother the agricultural labourer, and so the towns grew rich. It is in the Middle Ages that English commercial life again becomes important, for the Normans had reopened the gateway between England and the Continent, while the Angevin Empire of Henry II brought her a trade not confined to the import of wine from Gascony, and she discovered a first-class market for her wool among the looms of Flanders and France. Her nobility found that forced labour was inefficient and that often it was better to let their land for a money rent than to try and work it by means of an unfree population; equally they found that sheep-farming paid better than arable-farming, and that home manufacture was more profitable than export of the raw material abroad. The age of the mediæval merchant and trader dawned as soon as the towns, finding the King who originally ostensibly owned them all in constant need of money, purchased their freedom from the possibility of arbitrary taxation and from the payment of crippling dues.

A town must have taverns. There is much to be learned of a vanished England from her inn-signs and their titles. Some of the strangest are due simply to verbal corruption, as in the case of the birth of the 'Goat and Compasses' from 'God Encompasseth Us' and the transformation of 'Hospice' into 'Ostrich'; the origin of some of the stranger combinations of beasts and articles is lost in the mists of antiquity. Very often indeed a loyal tenant has named his inn after the chief local family; thence appear the crop of 'Talbot Arms' and 'Stanley Arms,' to mention only two noble houses which cover the countryside. But there are inns far older than those which remind us that the family name of the Duke of Westminster is Grosvenor and of the Duke of Norfolk, Howard; the 'Fighting Cocks' at St. Albans claims to be over a thousand years old; the 'Angel' at Grantham to date from the eleventh century; and the title deeds of the 'Saracen's Head' at Newark take us back to A.D. 1341. The 'Fountain' at Canterbury, the 'Ostrich' at Colnbrook, the 'George' at Salisbury, and the 'George' at Norton St. Philip in Somerset, are all pre-fifteenth century.

The badges as well as the family names of the territorial nobility have been freely used in the naming of inns, or rather the name has supplanted the sign. The badge of King Richard II was the 'White Hart,' a familiar inn-board sign. The 'Blue Boar' was the mark of the de Veres, Earls of Oxford, as the 'Swan' was that of the family of Bohun, which became the House of Lancaster. The reason why we do not find 'Grey Gazelles' and 'Crimson Rooks' is that inn-signs bearing family badges are mainly of mediæval growth, and neither grey nor crimson is a heraldic colour, while the animals and birds of which heraldry would take notice are mainly those of the chase or those which can form a pictorial pun on the owner's name. Mediæval man might have heard of the gazelle, but it did not come within his experience to hunt it, and neither did he for choice fly his hawks at common birds such as rooks and magpies. Some familiar signs recall past entertainments; for example, that of the 'Dog and Duck,' dating from an age when customers could set their dogs on the ducks in a neighbouring pond.

Two common expressions may be derived from the days

when the inn was even more the centre of village life than it is to-day. It may be that the alehouse-keeper recorded his customers' draughts on credit on slates hung at his door; when the account was settled the slate would be wiped clean, hence the expression 'a clean slate.' In his accounting he may have made use of the symbols 'p' for pints and 'q' for quarts, thus giving us the phrase 'Mind your p's and q's,' the slate recording them being not only evidence of indebtedness to the innkeeper but of the amount of a man's drinking also.

Little is left of mediæval town life except its pageantry and a few names. The day is gone when only the learned few could read, so that over his combined house and shop a man hung a pictorial board, for the majority could not recognise the words 'John son of Gilbert, wheelwright,' but all could enquire their way to 'the sign of the Peacock' and recognise its picture on the board over John Gilbertson's house. Only our taverns now preserve this feature, unless trade-marks and such familiar figures as Johnnie Walker or the Player's sailor be counted a mediæval survival¹. 'But the day is not altogether gone when for convenience the members of a particular trade congregated in a particular street, whence we derive such modern street-names as the Shambles, where the butchers' slaughter-houses were situated, or Fletchers' Row, where the makers of arrows had their shops.

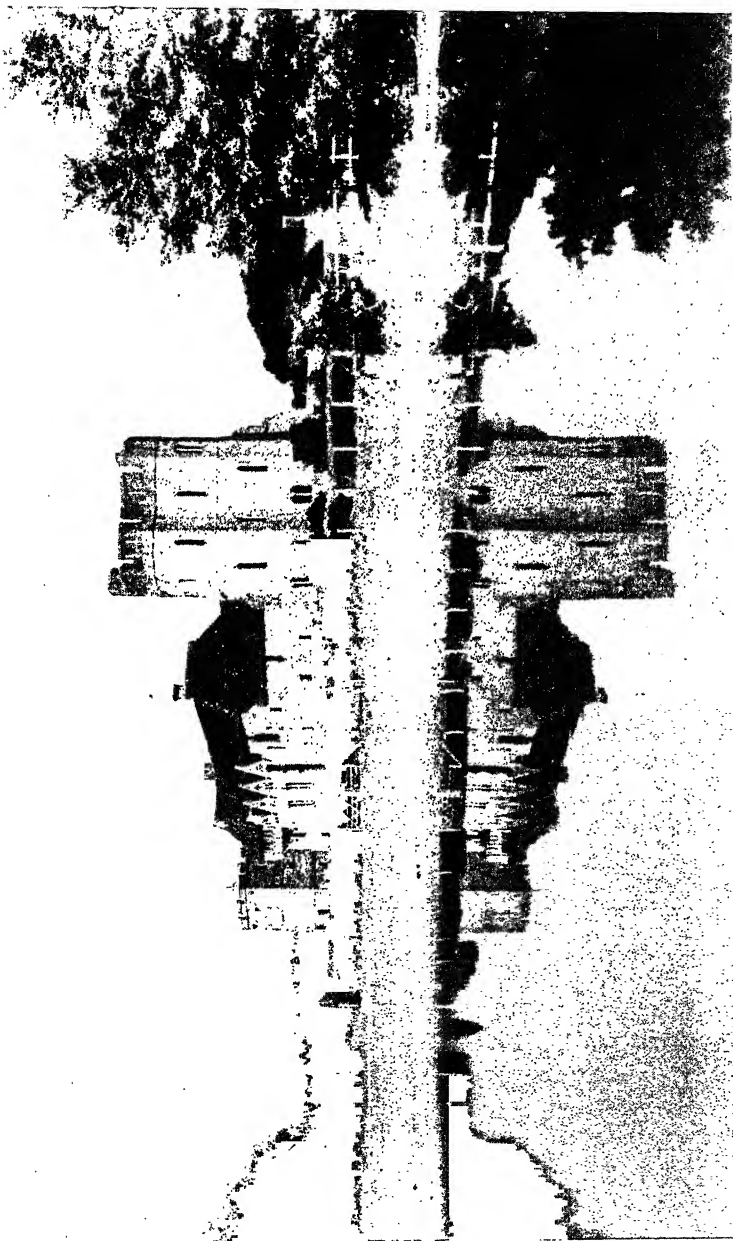
London is full of significant names: we have the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, recalling where the shaft of the may-pole stood, and of St. Clement Danes, where are buried the bodies of Viking raiders of pre-Norman days. The river, in Rotherhithe and Lambeth (Lambhithe), preserves the names of the creeks and havens in which an incoming vessel could be berthed. The street-names not only perpetuate the class of traders who congregated in them, such as the Poultry, where the hensellers had their stalls, Cornhill, where corn was bought and sold, or Paternoster Row, where early book-sellers dispensed Bibles and prayer books after these became available for public use, but also the memory of a London thronged with religious communities. Crutched Friars reminds us of the ecclesiastics whose badge was the Cross who once inhabited

¹ The tendency seems to be reviving, as witness the signboards outside many Banks.

this thoroughfare, as does the Minories of the *Sorores Minores*, the lesser sisters or nuns, who had their establishment there. Broad Sanctuary stands as a witness that Westminster Abbey was the centre of London ecclesiastical life, London Wall of the old protection of the infant city, Old Jewry of the quarter reserved for the unbelieving Hebrew, and the Strand that the Thames is tidal and that in its greater force it made itself a sea beach, though perhaps a muddy one, where now is the Savoy and Charing Cross station.

In London we still find the lawyers grouped about the Inns of Court and the Law Courts; one does not look for the houses of Hartnell or Paquin by the Bank of England or Whitehall but in the neighbourhood of Mayfair where their customers congregate. The growth of local self-government, of freedom from royal control, and the rise of the Merchant Gilds and Craft Gilds, gave us the display of the Lord Mayor's Show and that of the City Livery Companies. An age which can but will not read has not altogether dispensed with the Town Crier, and about the only real change in the English market-day, besides the development in the number of wares displayed and in the type of transport to the town, is in the language spoken. Costume and appendages, smells and cries, have not radically altered.

In the chapter on Anglo-Saxon England it was suggested that to a great extent the inhabitants of the principal towns held their houses and land in consideration of rendering military service as required in the campaigns which reconquered England from the Dane. By the time of the early Middle Ages, professional and hired soldiers are becoming more common, and the dweller in the town, since the towns are the homes of trade, can become a merchant and a manufacturer. We still speak of a man as a burgess of his town; the mediæval burgess, as a town grew in size (and most towns were growing, for where there was a castle there would be many skilled artisans to help with its upkeep), represented the original permanent inhabitants who garrisoned the *burhs* or boroughs, and the position of a burgess descended from father to son. Obviously the government of a town must be in the hands of the permanent residents, not in those of the stranger and sojourner, once the town has by purchase



STOKESAY CASTLE

“Out of the castle grows the English country house” (p. 146.)



A SUSSEX HOMESTEAD
"The solitary farms" (p. 154.)

secured its freedom, outlined in its charter, from royal or noble control. In any organisation for government there must be a president, and in addition a committee of senior members to direct the inexperienced councillors. The names of some of these are with us still, and in the same connection; the title *mayor* (Latin *major* = greater) is to be found in the twelfth century, when London's port-reeve became her mayor, and *alderman* is a word of Anglo-Saxon origin for an experienced and respected citizen. Towns very early gained the privilege of making rules for the conduct of their own affairs: such laws are outside the national code, and the term 'by-law' for an ordinance of this character is a familiar one. But a by-law is properly not, as one might think, a law of less importance than one which effects the whole nation, it is a law for the *by* or town. How little the work of a town council has altered in principle may be seen from the mediæval arrangements at Worcester—they provide for the sanitation of the city, for repairs, for the provision of fire-buckets, among many other things. The Bristol records inform us how the election and installation of a mayor were performed; each November the Lord Mayor's Show reminds Londoners, from its pomp and pageantry, that our ancestors regarded the entry into office of a city's chief dignitary as something to be kept with solemn feast and cheerful holiday.

England possesses to-day a mass of charitable and Friendly societies, from those specialising in insurance and assistance with house purchase to ritualistic organisations with brotherhood and charity as the main points of their creed. She has her Trade Unions of employees and her Employers' Federations, her specialist trade organisations and her Chambers of Commerce. It is difficult to trace the lineal descent of these from mediæval institutions, but the characteristic mediæval fraternity, the gild, has left widespread evidence of itself. "Men could band together in a gild for many objects: for social purposes, for religious worship, for help in sickness and burial, for the performances of some definite task, for the increase of trade and commerce, for the betterment of individual crafts."¹ The religious gilds almost without exception perished at the time of the Reformation of the Church (though the foundation of one at least survived to give us Corpus Christi College,

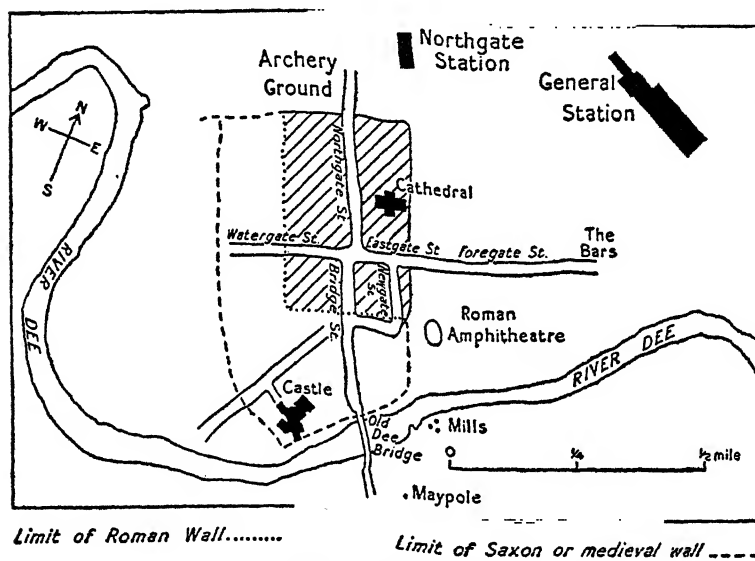
¹ Lucy T. Smith, in *Companion to English History* (Middle Ages) (O.U.P.).

Cambridge); it is the craft gild, the association of members of an individual profession, and the merchant gild, the association of townsmen who traded widely as opposed to those who confined their activities to a solitary shop, which provided the modern survivals of the principle of the gild. A gild needed a meeting-place and a prototype of the modern Exchange, which not unnaturally became the headquarters of the urban administration also; there are few English cities of any antiquity which do not possess, however restored or altered, the Guildhall which is still frequently the centre of civic life. As we go about England we shall often find a survival of the charitable as well as of the commercial aspect of the mediæval gilds; here an educational endowment and there a hospital or almshouse, a church or a bridge. Trinity House, the organisation which to-day supervises so much of the detail of seafaring, such as the maintenance of lighthouses and the provision of pilots, owes its origin to an early gild of Thames pilots. The City Companies of London, the principal place of the survival to-day of the mediæval gilds, preserve in their names terms and trades which have disappeared or merged the one into the other, besides those which are familiar—Skinners, Bowyers, Broderers, Cordwainers, Grocers, Fishmongers, and so on. Their guild-halls survive, as anyone who goes into the City of London may see for himself; despite the Luftwaffe's efforts. The City of Chester still possesses more than a score of City Companies, the earliest, that of the Bakers, dating from 1297, each with its coat of arms and motto.

The absence of any record of a gild does not necessarily mean that a particular town did not indulge in its trade. One could have trade without gilds (for example, in 1290 Norwich harboured 130 trades, but in 1440 one gild only existed) and a town without gilds, for the earliest gilds were mainly begun by bodies of alien handicraftsmen who migrated to England and there formed the type of organisation to which they had been accustomed, partly because they could not become burgesses of the town of their adoption, which explains why so many English towns record the patronage of successful merchants with foreign names.

Enough has been said to show that the town of to-day, save for that created by the Industrial Revolution, has its roots, if

not in Celtic or Roman times, in the days when Angles and Saxons settled England. Geographical situation, at least in mediæval and pre-mediæval times, is almost everything; a town grows up where there is a natural harbour, or in a pass between hills or marshes, or where a river is conveniently bridged¹ or forded (this cannot be done in marshy ground), or where roads joining other towns cross. It is suggested that Anglo-Saxon England had many small towns of much the same



PLAN OF CHESTER

The situation of the railway stations (both well inside the present boundary of the County Borough) shows how small a mediæval or pre-mediæval city was compared with a modern town. It is obvious that the original lay-out of the Roman fort, with its four principal roads dividing a rectangle, has never been disturbed. The Castle commands the approach from Wales; west of it (where on the Roodee is the modern racecourse) is ample space for flocks and herds driven in from the surrounding districts in time of war.

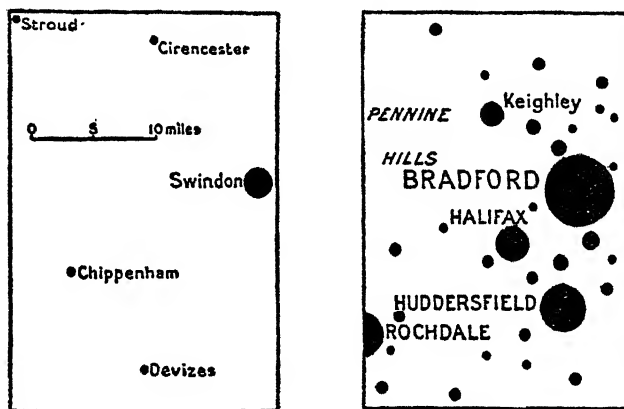
size, and that with and after the coming of the Normans the sizes of towns began more noticeably to vary. The Anglo-Saxons hardly knew the castle at all, the Normans covered the country with castles; the towns which acquired a castle grew in consequence, for men came to live in the shadow of its

¹ Bridges are of added importance in early days because so much traffic was water-borne. Bridges prevent the passage of any but the smallest boats, so that fords or ferries had to take their place where they were inessential.

protection. Many towns, quite prominent until the eleventh century, now fade almost out of England's story, especially those which were the see-towns of Saxon bishoprics, for the Norman ecclesiastic was not content with the isolation with which he found himself faced. Sherborne and Hexham; towns of which one hardly ever hears to-day like Ramsbury, Thetford, Dunwich, Elmham, Crediton; were all heads of dioceses in Saxon times, but the sees were transferred to more important towns, Thetford to Norwich, Crediton to Exeter. The former lost, the latter gained, in consequence, added importance.

If we study the map of mediæval England, we shall find nearly all the towns, except those which have acquired eminence subsequently, to be the provincial 'capitals' of to-day. Disregard the most densely-populated areas, Tyneside, South and East Lancashire, West and South Yorkshire, the circles whose centres are Birmingham and London, and it is hard to find a district with two places legitimately to be styled 'towns' within a few miles of each other. A map of the country excluding the above districts shows the towns with a population of more than 5,000 slightly separated, each the focus of an agricultural countryside, the centre of a circle whose radii are the roads along which the people of the villages, of the hamlets, and of the solitary farms, bring their butter and eggs and sheep and calves to market, and return with the products of the craftsman and the artificer. They are the market-places, and the most favourably situated are the sites of the great mediæval fairs, for while merchants from overseas will not visit every small provincial town, they will appear in those which draw a wider attendance than that provided by a mere district. It was the railway, which transported the goods of the town to the remotest village shop, which indeed made the village shop possible, which destroyed the English fair, though it has not swept away the English market-place. Hardly any of the mediæval fairs have survived, and those which have are become rather the home of the gypsy and the side-show, the travelling salesman and the roundabout, than the opportunity of the grave Flemish merchant or the Genoan trader. Not that fairs are altogether gone from England—Nottingham Goose Fair, Barnet Horse Fair, Mitcham Fair, St. Giles's Fair at Oxford, will serve to head a list—but St. Giles's Fair at Winchester,

Bartholomew Fair at Smithfield in London, Boston and Stamford Fairs, to which the goods of western Europe came, have all entirely or almost entirely disappeared. But the greatest of all the English mediæval fairs, of Stourbridge near Cambridge, which was really four fairs at four different seasons of the year, has not altogether passed away. Cambridge had its Midsummer Fair, and it has its Midsummer Common, where the Fair was held. Fairs are and must earlier have been also occasions of holiday, and the north of England recalls in its 'Wakes' the days when the festival of the saint to which the



Two areas, each about 672 square miles in extent. • Towns with 5,000–10,000 inhabitants. Other towns indicated proportionately, without reference to actual boundaries.

Left: A rural area with almost equally-spaced market towns, and one industrial town.

Right: A purely industrial area.

parish church was dedicated, perhaps the entire octave or week and a day, was a licensed time of feast and merriment. Lancashire is the county we mainly connect with Wakes Week to-day, though the system has changed with the alteration from a rural to an urban area. It is a convenience for all factories to shut down simultaneously instead of a few at a time, and in happier times almost the entire population of a town like Bolton or Blackburn would migrate to Blackpool or Douglas, Southport or Morecambe.

How much more intensively England was in mediæval times covered with small towns of importance in the national

scheme than she is now can be judged by recalling the names of some which, now quite unimportant, attained between the reigns of Edward I and Charles I the position of a parliamentary borough. Naturally, we shall find them in what prior to the Industrial Revolution were the most thickly populated parts of England, the south and west, the eastern counties and the south midlands. All these have at some time been parliamentary boroughs (the list is by no means exhaustive), and who, except their citizens and children and neighbours, now thinks of them?—Abingdon, Wendover, Camelford, St. Ives, Honiton, Blandford, Maldon, Whitchurch (Hants.), Leominster, Castle Rising, Higham Ferrers, Morpeth, Much Wenlock, Ilchester, Eye, Wootton Bassett, Thirsk. So there is no reason for surprise if as we journey about England we find half her towns looking as if they had seen better days, and as though they had once ranked with the present-day cities and provincial capitals.

It was the town, and not the village, which was the home of pageantry. Mediæval pageantry is displayed at its most intense in the survival of coronation customs. The habit of crowning the new king goes back far beyond English history, and a form of ritual for the ceremony dates from about A.D. 750; in the ritual is to be found the development of the idea that the king was almost divine, and endowed with the priestly character, for in the presence of his people he is anointed with holy oil. Ecclesiastical influence and the mediæval law produced the conception of the sacredness of the king's person, which we find still current when Shakespeare was writing:

‘Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king’

and which met its first real challenge in the struggle between Crown and Parliament in Stuart days.

But the influence of the mediæval countryside has not quite departed. The English ballads might almost be said to be mediæval, even if their final shape is of later date, and the year of their first collection that of Bishop Percy's *Reliques*, 1765. However, they serve to show that the English people, in common with other nations, evolved for themselves the

brusque recital of popular stories in verse, dependent on assonance rather than on rhyme for their construction, full of textual repetition such as has survived in any literature of the people as opposed to that of the scholar, teeming with references to gold and silver, which they viewed with awe from afar as something they could not themselves hope to possess in quantity and so entirely suitable for introduction into what were almost fairy-stories and legends, and obtruding at every possible point the mystic numbers three and seven. The Scots ballads are perhaps better known than those of English origin, but in the English ballads we find the three common features of the bird which talks and warns its owner of deceit or unfaithfulness, of the bride who remains faithful through all her woes and wins her lover at the last, of the hapless pair out of whose graves grow twined the briar bushes which bear the one a red, the other a white rose.

There is ever an eerie atmosphere about the ballads, for they are more concerned with sudden death and treachery and betrayal than with a peaceful life until, in certain instances, the last verse. The best known of all, that of *Chevy Chase* with its counterpart *The Battle of Otterbourne*, is full of blood and slaughter:

‘For Widdrington my heart is woe,
That ever he slain should be;
For when both his legs were hewn in two,
Yet he kneeled and fought on his knee.’

Such a poem probably represents actual fact, but others, such as *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*, may be mere heroic legend, and ballads such as *Edward* and *Lord Rendel* may owe their origin not to a single but to a comparatively commonplace incident in a time of murder and lust, thus:

‘Why does your sword so drop with blood,
Edward, Edward?
Why does your sword so drop with blood,
And why so sad go ye, O?’

O, I have killed my hawk so good,
Mother, mother:

O, I have killed my hawk so good:
And I had no more but he, O.

Your hawk's blood was never so red,
Edward, Edward.
Your hawk's blood was never so red,
My dear son I tell thee, O.

.....
O, I have killed my father dear,
Mother, mother:
O, I have killed my father dear,
Alas! and woe is me, O!

And what will you leave to your own mother dear,
Edward, Edward?
And what will you leave to your own mother dear?
My dear son, now tell me, O.
The curse of hell from me shall you bear,
Mother, mother:
The curse of hell from me shall ye bear,
Such counsels you gave to me, O.'

Or—

'Where have you been all the day,
Rendel, my son?
Where have you been all the day,
My pretty one?
O, with my sweetheart, mother:
Make my bed soon, for I'm sick to my heart,
And I fain would lie down.

What got you for your dinner,
Rendel, my son?
What got you for your dinner,
My pretty one?
O, eels and eels' broth, mother:
Make my bed soon, for I'm sick to my heart,
And I fain would lie down.'¹

¹ Such ballads exist in several different versions: I have tried to give the best known text.

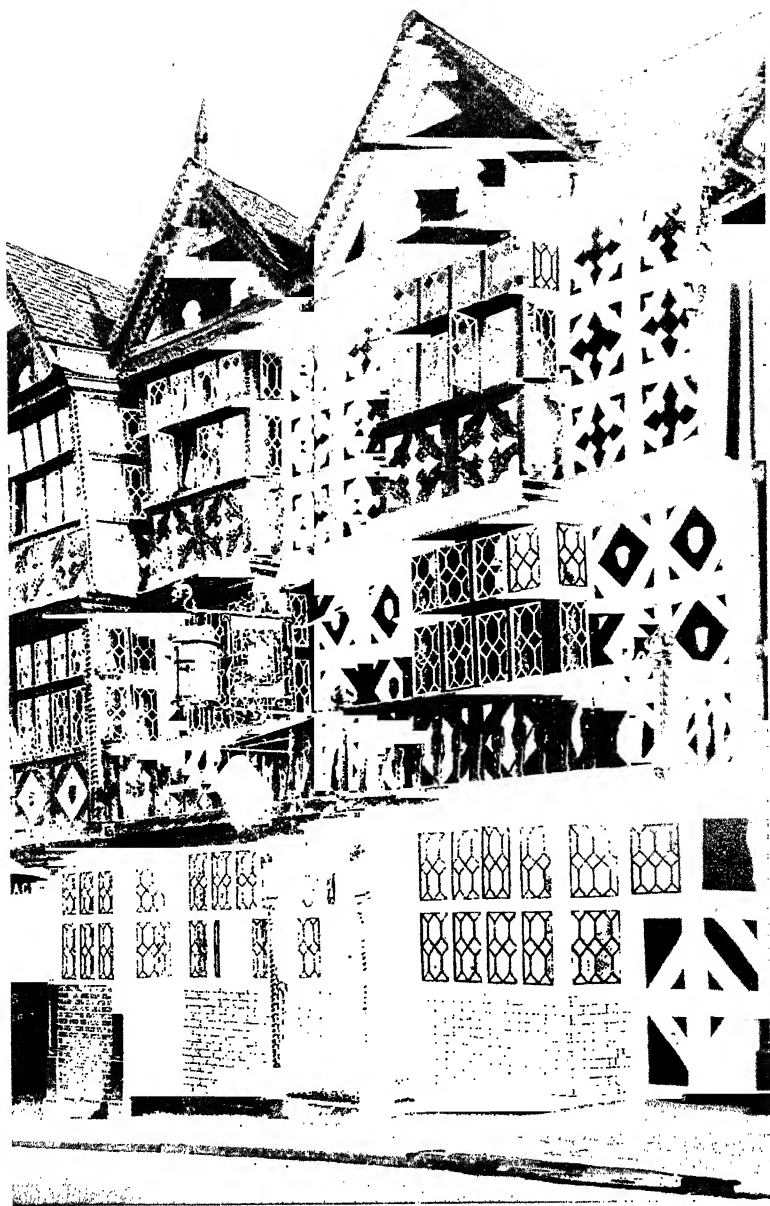
G. K. Chesterton summed up, though in another connection, this transition period of the Middle Ages with extreme neatness when he described it as being full of the idea of, not 'a good time coming,' but 'a good time going.' On the whole, for several hundred years the inhabitants of England had been enduring, more or less patiently and more or less because they could not help themselves, a continual change of masters and sense of oppression. The Middle Ages are often thought of as the age of blind faith, but they are equally, so far as England is concerned, the first age of criticism.

In a world of uniformity there is little room for criticism. We may feel to-day that we cannot understand the mentality of the German or that there is 'always something fishy about the French'; we divide ourselves into 'Englishmen and foreigners'; but in the early part of the Middle Ages no such division could exist. The average English baron, particularly because he probably owned estates in Normandy as well as in England, had far more in common with a Spanish or an Italian knight than he had with his armour-maker. All gentlemen had much the same ideas as to what should happen in the world, but the interests of a nobleman and a tradesman or peasant, though of the same race, were totally different ones. The Roman Empire had been one great unit, and the Holy Catholic Church, or Christendom, was another; so, when the power of Islam monopolised the Holy Places of Palestine, the whole of Christian Europe combined in the Crusades to recover them. Nor did only the upper classes engage in the work; the armies of the Crusades were composed of men drawn from every conceivable rank, enlisted under the banners of Christendom, and not because the King of England or of France had decided that his country should take part in them.

But in time the common need which kept Christendom together disappeared. The Crusades failed, but men began to realise there was no danger of Mahomet displacing Christ; and that sense of the danger of the attack to Christianity, by the end of the period of the Crusades, was about the only thing they had in common. An English baron was beginning to find himself with the task of curbing the royal power and an English yeoman with that of forcing a baron to recognise his economic independence; the French *sieurs* and Jacques

Bonhommes had no such problem, nor one such as that encountered by a Spaniard in freeing his land from the Saracen. Men began to discover a sense of nationality, which finds its expression not only in the attempted conquests of Wales and Scotland but in the Hundred Years' War as well. It was not a Norman nation which conquered an English nation, it was the forces of a duchy backed by a mass of mercenaries from every quarter of Europe opposed to the supporters of the House of Godwine; it was hardly an English nation which fought Crécy and Poitiers, but rather a country's chivalry, aided by volunteer soldiers, who were attempting to recover the lost Angevin empire in France. But in the concluding stages of the Hundred Years' War it was England against France. Agincourt is four hundred years distant from Waterloo; Hastings nearly double that space. How near to and how far from the present conception of nationality we are we may see from the fact that an Englishman's war-cry at Hastings was 'Holy Cross,' at Poitiers 'St. George for England,' and yet a soldier with perhaps fifteen years' active service against his country's enemies could recover the spirit of the Crusades and cry at the martyrdom of Joan of Arc, 'God have mercy on us—we have burnt a saint.'

Perhaps the most readily recalled contribution of the Middle Ages is *Magna Carta*. There was a time when it was customary to ascribe the Englishman's personal liberty to the acquisition of its privileges; a view which could hardly be held by anyone who had read the document itself. *Magna Carta* was drawn up not with a view to ensuring the personal liberty of the subject, but with the idea of limiting the personal power of the King against the class he principally provoked, the baronage. There is little which is new in the Charter; it is rather a restatement and extension of the principles of the royal charters of liberties of previous reigns; its importance is in the novel precision of its clauses. It is in a sense the culminating point of the movement which aims at dependence upon law rather than upon custom; the Charter is a contract between the King and his magnates, and the idea has developed that a contract is a sacred thing not to be broken without severe penalty. On this idea of the sanctity of law and of a contract rests personal security. This indeed the Charter



THE "FEATHERS," LUDLOW
"A town must have taverns" (p. 148.)



THE OLD POST OFFICE INN, SHREWSBURY

"The inn was the traveller's haven of refuge, ranged round its courtyard"
(*p.* 235.)

attempted to guarantee. It is in *Magna Carta* that we find expressed the principle that no man shall suffer financial or physical loss except after trial and judgment by his peers, that is, equals; men who can understand his point of view. Equally we find expressed the principle that men have a right, not a hope, to expect free and speedy justice—redress against a neighbour's offence or against the exactions of a more powerful class.¹

But the two most important features are these: *Magna Carta* constantly speaks as though the English nation is a very real thing: it speaks of 'the law of the realm,' 'the bettering of the realm,' 'the common counsel of the realm.' It hardly ever, except for a definite purpose, applies its provisions to a particular class or party only. Secondly, if it does not provide for representative government, it is an application of the principle that the realm cannot and must not be guided by a small section thereof—the King and a Council composed of an unrepresentative section of the baronage and the prelates—and that its laws and its policy should be such as will be for the benefit of all. We are very near that great principle, 'What touches all should be approved by all;' that the laws which limit our personal actions should not be drawn up by a few who by birth or wealth or position have the opportunity of forming themselves into a body which can provide the necessary force to administer such laws as suit their own circumstances. Two years before *Magna Carta* was produced at Runnymede a Council met at St. Albans, to which came not only barons and bishops but, from every township in England, its reeve or steward and four townsmen.² The century which sees *Magna Carta* sees the Model Parliament of Edward I.

So rapidly does Parliament develop that if we study its history we feel that we are watching something in a state not of infancy but of adolescence. The principle we have just

¹ The first historical judgment on *Magna Carta* was to regard it as 'the palladium of English liberties.' Opinion now is rather opposed to this, and inclined to consider it a reactionary document, drafted in the interests of the nobility without thought of benefit to their inferiors. But development of its ideas could produce these privileges for *all* classes.

² I would not say that they *did* come, but that they *might* come. We know the percentage of voters which to-day goes to the poll in parliamentary and municipal elections, and a journey from Cumberland to St. Albans was then a pretty serious undertaking.

mentioned adopted at St. Albans we found almost foreshadowed when the evidence which produced Domesday Book was given. At the Domesday Inquest the representatives of shire, vill, and borough (and probably of many an individual landowner also) stated the facts as they knew them, and then were directed to swear to the accuracy and justice of the record. This is hardly the same thing as a voice in the national counsels, but displays the employment of principles not dissimilar. Long before the close of the Middle Ages Parliament is not essentially different from what it is to-day. Already in the fourteenth century the clergy meet in their own assembly, Convocation; already there are two Houses, those of the Lords and Commons, because the interests of the baronage and the princes of the Church are not identical with those of the rural knights and of the merchants; each feels slightly uncomfortable in each other's company and discussion of *national* affairs is a matter unto which the personal outlook must not come. It is easier for a man to voice his opinion away from the presence of someone who has the power, many hundred miles from Westminster, to make life distinctly unpleasant for his critic. A haughty baronage discussed national affairs not because they were ordered to do so, but because they denied the right of the King, whom they thought of not as their master but as the first among his equals, to organise their conduct in accordance with his own ideas. They claimed to be personally summoned by their feudal superior, and that the right to be so summoned should be an hereditary one. So it still is; the House of Lords is not in essence elective. One of the most marked characteristics of the Englishman is his love for the enjoyment of privileges denied to his neighbour (a fact which begat the club and uniform); a sharp division between nobleman and petty landowner began to appear. Once the distinction was one of possessions, now it becomes one of class. Consequently the humbler men receive valuable allies; the ordinary citizen finds the minor baron and the common knight poised in the social scale much nearer to himself than ever before, even at a date when for all practical purposes a man was either a landowner or a land-worker. England becomes a country with only a minute privileged aristocracy until the time when the

oligarchy of wealth succeeds the aristocracy of birth as the chief power in the state.

The early Middle Ages might be characterised as an age of hearty clumsiness. We are apt to think of the period as one of unimaginative brutality, a term we might with greater justice apply to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We are inclined to laugh at its characteristics; at the idea of men having to be screwed into their working dress with a spanner, at some of its legacies. We shake sweaty bared hands to show that by so doing we are making ourselves unable to draw a dagger and stab our neighbour in the chest or poison him through our gloves; we bare bald heads, much better kept under cover, as a sign of reverence. About the most critically contemptuous adjective we can apply to any institution is to class it as 'mediæval'; the absurdity of people going about calling themselves Rouge Dragon or of maintaining the right to hold their lands by presenting His Majesty with a red rose in December or a snowball in June or something equally inane is to us a matter, at best, for sentimental mirth. But the early Middle Ages were the childhood of the English nation, with all of a child's sense of make-believe and let's pretend and dressing-up and eruptive meaningless scuffles and, most important of all, a child's growing critical and inquisitive faculty. The Middle Ages, as we shall see, practically criticised their own absurdities out of existence.

CHAPTER VII

THE LEGACY OF THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

“ The fantastic graces of chivalry lay upon the surface of life, but beneath it was a half-savage population, fierce and animal, with little ruth or mercy. It was a raw, rude England, full of elemental passions, and redeemed only by elemental virtues.”

SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE: *Introduction to “ Sir Nigel.”*

THE EARLY mediæval period, which for present purposes we might define as from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, was an age of action rather than of words. It cannot be denied that it was an age of force, and in an age of force men have little leisure to think. It was still an age when only a small minority could read, and while few can read, few will write. But the early Middle Ages saw the introduction of permanent law and order into England, and so was created the legal profession. Scholarship and education were no longer the peculiar privilege of the Church; there grew up a class of lay scholars, learned in the law, who were responsible for the machinery and administration of the less spectacular part of the business of government. The Crusades and foreign wars brought Englishmen into touch with the politer and more advanced civilisation of the Mediterranean countries, and while the early Middle Ages were the great period of monastic historic chronicles, which appealed to the few, the later Middle Ages saw a notable extension in the growth of English literature and in a public which wanted, if not to read, to be read to. Not only did people like William of Ockham and John of Salisbury produce treatises on the theory of government, but we find also Sir Thomas Malory reviving the King Arthur and the Round Table legends, Sir John Mandeville writing, erroneously but interestingly, of foreign travel and of the wonders to be seen in far countries, the sort of thing to thrill a knight errant, and the appearances of the early Romances, like *Amadas and Ydoine*. In the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer depicted people whom noble and peasant, merchant and

lawyer, alike could understand and recognise, and in a language which was not the privilege of the upper classes alone, as was the French which was the universal currency in speech of the day. If Chaucer poked fun at types whose degeneracy merited criticism, he was merely in keeping with the dawn of a refusal to accept certain aspects of English life as above examination. A popular writer, he said what men thought; publicly he criticised, though with good humour, the clerics to whom for generations laymen had deferred as God's representatives on earth. He anticipated one of the chief outcries of the Reformation when he wrote of the Pardoner, who duped people into thinking that a little Latin on parchment, if purchased, could acquit a man of his sins; he lashed the comfortable vices of the Prioress, with her brooch bearing the motto *Omnia vincit Amor*; with damaging meiosis he drew the picture of the Friar, familiar with women of the town; and by way of contrast he depicted the poor parish priest, who taught the example of Christ and His Twelve Apostles, but who, in rebuke to those who celebrated High Mass at court and sat on bishops' thrones, followed it himself, as often they did not. Chaucer expressed what all men had for long thought, that the Church and her representatives, the bishop-barons and abbot-statesmen and friars, were no better, morally, than the men to whom they should have been an example, and cloaked their indolent vices behind a superstitious veil of non-existent sanctity. Langland, in the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, contrasted the life of the poor peasant with that of the rich noble, of the man who by cruel labour provided a minority, owing their advantage to the accident of birth, with the goods they wasted in the pursuit of pleasure, and indicated the utter lack of justification for the existence of a 'baronage rampant.' Wiclif denied the right of the clergy to enjoy a monopoly of the exercise of the power to teach and to interpret religion, denied the right of the ecclesiastic to oppose the obstacle of the priesthood between a man and his God, denied that the influence of the priest depended on his supposed power to work a miracle and transmute bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, denied the right of the Church to restrain men from translating the Bible into English, where it could be read by all, from Latin, which the average man (and many priests) could

not understand. Chaucer, Langland and Wiclif voiced the popular feeling which culminated in the Reformation and the collapse of the Manorial System.

The pre-eminence of the Church was doomed, but a couple of centuries were to pass before so strong an organisation could be subordinated to the national good, for the later Middle Ages throw up no man or woman possessing the personality of Henry VIII or of Elizabeth. If the monarchy was to save itself, *something* had to be achieved, for the deposition of Edward II and of Richard II proved that the King could not stand against the majority of his chief subjects in arms against him. That something was to a certain extent accidentally achieved, for the Black Death, the plague which slew something like three-eighths of the population of England, destroyed the chief remaining advantage of the territorial nobility. Now there were too few dependent labourers to cultivate the great estates; already, his fortune spent on maintaining ostentatious pageantry and financing the campaigns of the Hundred Years' War, the baron had been forced to sell to his labourers the right to work for themselves and not for him. We have arrived at a point almost essentially modern, where, though the lord owns the land, he is economically forced to let it to tenants in order that he may draw an annual rent from it, and to hire as labourers those who cannot rent their own farm. A shortage of labour, the result of the Black Death, meant that higher wages would be demanded of employers, whose response was the only one they knew, that of endeavouring to restore the old system by force and repressive measures. If in its essentials the Peasants' Revolt which followed failed, the baronage, whether they knew it or not, were fighting a losing game.

But when we think of the Middle Ages, we think of the knights and barons, with their continual warfare and weapons and armour and coats of arms and badges. Quite apart from the general tendency in the Middle Ages to adopt any possible form of ostentatious display, in an age when few could read pictorial labelling of commanders in the field was an absolute necessity, especially as, when the twelfth-century helmet was closed, the face could not be seen. Nowadays it is comparatively rare, with the present size of the population, to find a man or a corporation which 'bear arms'; armorial bearings

are the mark of ancient origin or of title, and it is only the association of outstanding prominence which possesses the right to display its pictorial sign, but there was a time when armorial bearings were much more common than they are to-day. We style them 'arms' because originally they were displayed on a man's armour, and on the most suitable part of his armour, his shield; they are still conventionally represented on a shield-shaped enclosure, for example on notepaper or in works of reference. They are 'coats of arms' because, as war-shields became smaller, they were embroidered on the surcoat worn over armour. At a time when few men could write, and instead of appending their signature to documents affixed their seal, it was an obvious convenience to depict on a seal the cognizance of its owner. Seals bearing arms are still worn, whether as signet rings or in some other form, but though they may be used for impressing the wax sealing an envelope or a document, they are hardly legal evidence as to who the signatory is. Since the right to armorial bearings, apart from its being an attribute of an office of state or of a position such as that of the head of a bishopric, was the mark of noble birth, great pains were taken to establish a claim to the right to display them. The designs are of many kinds; some consist of a representation of a single article, beast or bird, but the majority vary over the different halves, thirds, quarters or irregular divisions of the shield. Armorial designs could be made to show connection by marriage: part of the design borne by a wife's family could be displayed on that of the husband. Since four generations each possessing the right to bear arms gave a perfect title to the design, so 'four and sixty quarterings' were the mark of the unquestionable gentleman. Special signs distinguished those who were not the titular head of a noble family; a crescent surcharged indicated a cadet branch or a younger son; bastards held to be of noble birth (they might still be the children of two noble parents) were indicated by the 'baston sinister' which far too many writers have mistakenly described as the 'bar sinister,' or by other means. A phrase such as 'a blot on the escutcheon' derives from the science of armorial bearings, and it is an indignity to represent a man upside down, for traitors were hanged by the feet head downwards, and correspondingly the traitor

knight had his shield reversed. A College of Heralds and a science and vocabulary of heraldry were an early necessity, for some means had to be found of preventing the confusion which would arise if two families or individuals adopted the same design, and there had to be somebody responsible for the granting of arms to a newly-ennobled person. The titles of the Heralds, or 'kings-of-Arms,' are all of ancient origin; *Norroy* and *Surroy*, with powers north and south of Trent and of the *royaume* or kingdom respectively, date back at least to Edward III's reign, and *Clarenceux* to the time of that monarch's son Lionel, Duke of Clarence, whose herald he was. The College of Heralds came into existence in 1483, with 'Garter, King-of-Arms' as its head, and the Earl Marshal, as President of the Court of Chivalry, its ruler. The office of the Earl Marshal, and his responsibility for the ceremonial details of functions such as a royal coronation or funeral, still exists, and since the late seventeenth century has been in the possession of the house of Howard and its head the Earl of Norfolk. Early heralds were the personal officers of kings and the greater lords, a fact preserved in the present names, recalling their principal seats or territorial possessions, Windsor, Chester, Lancaster, York, Somerset and Richmond. Ultimately to fill their places 'apprentices' had to be trained; these came to be known as *pursuivants* or 'followers,' all named after badges; these are Rougecroix (the red cross of St. George of England), Blue-mantle, Rouge-dragon (the Welsh badge adopted by Henry VII, the first Tudor king) and Portcullis, the badge of the Beaufort family of which Henry VII's mother, descendant of Edward III, was a member. Crests, mottoes, 'supporters,' or figures placed on either side of the shield, have all been included in the science of heraldry. Perhaps the crest is a survival of the custom of surmounting the helmet with the principal figure represented in a coat-of-arms, and the motto a development of the war-cry which helped warriors to rally round their own leader. But crests and mottoes tended to become 'canting,' that is to say, to illustrate a man's profession or to make a pun upon his name. An admiral ennobled would almost certainly include a ship or an anchor in his armorial bearings, and a man named Catling a cat and a bunch of heather, as Talbot bears the mediæval breed of dog known by this name

and Hertford the hart. Readers of *Lorna Doone* may remember John Ridd's difficulties consequent upon his knighthood, and the mottoes suggested varying from *Ridd non ridendus* to *Ridd readeth riddles*. Crests are daily features of our lives, ranging from the Prince of Wales's feathers to that badge of the broom, the *planta genista*, from which the royal house of Plantagenet took its name.

The King Arthur legend which is among England's strongest traditions owes its grip on popular imagination not only to Malory's work but also to the fact that an age of chivalry, thronged with knights-errant and those whose principal recreation was the tournament, seized on the story as one which appealed to its members. The idea of a brotherhood of knights was a familiar one, and whether the 'original' Round Table was discovered or constructed in the Middle Ages or not, that which hangs in Winchester, painted to decorate some later Tudor feast, proves that mediæval man was not averse to playing some game in which he imitated the actions and customs of his predecessors.

To those who suspect that the peerage dates from the Norman conquest, it may be a shock to find that the title of 'Prince' for royal children did not come into use in England until the reign of Henry VIII, and that of 'Princess' until later, for though Edward I's earliest son is commonly reckoned the first Prince of Wales, his title was in view of his territorial possession the Principality of Wales, and not by virtue of his nobility. The first duke was the Black Prince, son of Edward III, created when the Duchy of Cornwall was conferred in perpetuity upon the eldest son of the reigning monarch. The first marquis was not created until 1385, in the reign of Richard II, and viscounts do not appear until 1440. The title of Earl is of somewhat greater antiquity, for the great Anglo-Saxon nobles were earls, as were the most prominent of the Norman baronage, but their dignity again was not so much on account of birth but because of appointment by the monarch to the stewardship of a compact block of territory where individual control was a political necessity. Hence we hear early of Earls of the Palatinate counties of Kent, Durham, Chester and Hereford. Few of the original privileges of the titled nobility have survived, though among them has been the right to trial

by their peers, that is equals, which seems likely to be abandoned, the right to receive a summons to attend Parliament, and that of the use by their heir, as a courtesy title, of their alternative rank, e.g. the heir of the Marquess of Bath is known by the style of Viscount Weymouth. Apart from the Order of the Garter, the origin of which is not proved to be the dropping of a lady's garter and its restoration by a monarch with the rebuke *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, dating from 1350, England's noble orders are of comparatively late date; that of the Thistle was instituted in 1687 and that of the Bath in 1725.

The age was one of general insecurity and upheaval, and its culminating point is the Wars of the Roses. Practically everything characteristic of mediævalism blew up in a series of conflagrations, and had to be reshaped rather than restored. The collapse of the Manorial System and the development of the economic crisis gave a certain measure of liberty to the peasantry; previously it had been forbidden a man to leave the estate on which he had been born, but now begins the movement to the towns which foreshadows modern industrialism. The baronage no longer had any real outlet for their enthusiasm; the French wars had ended with the loss of France; a strong king controlled them, a weak one, unsupported by an immature Parliament, could not prevent them from attempting to restore their fallen fortunes by private or partisan war. The Wars of the Roses were the final attempt of the baronage to control English national life, and fortunately the attempt resulted in their commission of political suicide. The majority got themselves killed; the remainder were poorer than before.

The legacy of the Middle Ages is a hard thing to discover, in part because when the ruins of mediæval buildings are taken away little remains which we can say is purely mediæval. In some measure it was an age of the advance of thought rather than of action, and so its implications are difficult to define. A purely historical interest is rather in what the Middle Ages got rid of than in what they produced, and what they dispensed with can be summed up in the four phrases: abolition of despotism, abolition of theocracy, abolition of individual rule, abolition of slave-labour in England.

A class as selfish and destructive as the mediæval baronage could leave behind it no imperishable legacy. Only their names and those of their villages, their dwellings, their armorial bearings and their memorial brasses and effigies remain. The mediæval Church, though its organisation survived, is thought of mainly when it is a question of paying tithe. The mediæval manor, while the name persists, has altogether lost its existence save for some of its characteristic features; there remain to us a quantity of 'Berwicks' as place-names, reminding us of the *berewicks* or detached portions of estates, and the village commons, the land common to all the inhabitants of a village, on which they pastured their beasts.

In ridding herself of the baronage and of the influence of a decayed Church, England found her speech. The English language and not a bastard version of Latin became her tongue, save where her institutions are of purely mediæval origin, such as the legal profession and Parliament and anything but the rudest surgery and medicine, whence the mediæval jargon of Romance tongues has never been displaced. Latin legal terms have gone straight into common English speech, like *bona fide* and *vice versa*; lawyers speak a strange language dependent on such Latin-derived words as easement and champerty and malfeasance; Parliament supports quaint figures like Black Rod, and in the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor, head of the legal profession, sits upon the Wool-sack, the epitome of England's mediæval trade; while a doctor, dealing in minims and scruples and grains, calling common substances like nitric acid *aqua fortis* and water *aq. pur.*, begins his prescriptions with the three initial letters of *capias* or *recipe*, 'thou shalt take,' writes them in a queer mediæval shorthand which makes one feel that 'doctor' is too simple a title for him, and that he should still style himself 'apothecary' or 'chirurgion,' and prates of *fiat sol.* instead of the intelligible 'dissolve in water.' But Chaucer and Langland wrote the English language as it existed in their day; it is not difficult to understand the language of Chaucer, odd though it may seem at first sight to find 'heart' spelt 'herte', and probably saved us from being christened, married and buried in a foreign language which could prove small consolation to the churchgoers. The emergence of an English language, spoken (at

least part of the time) by all classes and not a portion thereof, is perhaps the best proof that can be offered that out of mediæval England emerged the English nation.

Out of mediæval England, too, emerged, if not the 'nation of shopkeepers' which Napoleon called it, the English traders. Once England grew wheat, and Rome hailed her as the 'Granary of the North'; in the Middle Ages she might have been styled 'the sheepfold of Europe.' The ploughlands went down to pasture, once it was realised that one man could care for more sheep than he could tend furlongs, and England's wool was England's wealth. England was developing a mighty trade in wool, and in woollen cloth with the Continent, and she owed it to her geographical advantages. The English downland would support vast quantities of sheep; the new economic conditions made it easy for landowners to concentrate not on the task of using the forced and customary labour of a village's tenants to produce scanty crops from fields which, to obtain a yield at all, had to lie fallow every other year or so, but on that of maintaining large flocks of sheep which required the attention of a few shepherds only. The labour once available because custom and law forced tenants to work for the landowner was changing to a labour which demanded wages for its services; and sheep-farming reduced the wage bill required by field cultivation. Water was readily available for the washing of wool; a village population, though it might continue by day to plough, sow or reap its lord's fields and its own small holdings, could when darkness put an end to labour in the fields comb, card, spin and weave the raw material. Here was work for all; combing and carding were not beyond the powers of small children; spinning from earliest times had been looked upon as the woman's task. 'The distaff side' is an expression which has never departed from the English language.

Quite apart from the impetus the industry gave to the growth of market towns (for now began the movement towards the exchange of goods where previously there had been but little economic connection between shire and shire), England's population became concentrated in the area which provided the natural sheep pastures, and which was but a short distance from the southern and eastern ports from which

sailed the vessels which bore English products to the Continent. The Cotswolds, the Wiltshire Downs, the East Anglian Heights, for example, supported a growing population which gave rise to towns which, once of supreme local importance, are now, with the advent of a mechanical age, rather relics of mediæval architecture and customs. Chipping Campden, Stroud, Newbury, Lavington, Steeple Ashton, Lavenham, Bury St. Edmunds, are merely a few of those towns which owed much of their former importance to the wool industry. All over the country we find places with names like Steeple Bumpstead and Steeple Aston; we may not find the steeple if we look for it, and perhaps it never existed, for the 'steeple' is the 'staple,' the wool-marketing town. To carry English goods English sea-going vessels were necessary.

English shipping of the early Middle Ages would hardly be known to us if depictions of it had not been preserved in manuscripts of the period. Obviously it was a large fleet of ships which transported William the Norman and his army, horses and stores, from the Continent to England,¹ and the English armies of the Hundred Years' War to France. The later types had little permanent influence on English naval construction, for while they were built primarily for the transport of goods such as English wool and Gascon wine, they were obliged, in time of war, and for defence against piratical onslaught, to be both defensive and offensive. Thus their architects tried to reproduce in the ships the idea of the mediæval castle, even though the wooden superstructures which gave protection against missiles were probably only rigged up for the occasion and not permanently erected. The defences were even called by the name so well known to the military architect, and the mediæval names have survived. 'Fore and aft' would seem to be among the oldest of English sea-terms; the fo'c's'le, which is among the most familiar of these, is properly the forecastle.

There was as such no Royal Navy for the defence of the realm, though a proportion of the country's vessels belonged to the Crown. Ships to transport the country's army in time of war there had to be, and we can picture how important was England's marine business, of fisheries and transport,

¹ A twelfth-century authority says there were 694 of them.

if we consider not only the 'natural' ports which have for so long been among the greatest of English towns—Bristol, Plymouth, Southampton, Portsmouth, London, Hull, which is properly Kingston-on-Hull and the 'King's town,' the king being Edward I—but also those now small but once, in importance, equal or superior to those mentioned above—Dartmouth, Fowey, Shoreham, Yarmouth, Boston and Ipswich, for example. The Kent and Sussex coast was the danger-spot from and the chief place of sailing to the Continent. It is then not surprising that what we still know as the Cinque Ports, once possessing Admiralty jurisdiction from Shore Beacon in Essex to Redcliff in Sussex, are towns in these counties. They, in return for virtual self-government, acquired by charter in the reign of Edward I, quoting earlier charters of the eleventh century, maintained a fleet which was to all intents and purposes England's naval shield; in 1217 the Cinque Ports' navy defeated a French fleet, with the result that Lewis of France, his communications cut, was forced to conclude his previously successful invasion of England, make peace, and return with his army to his own country. The Cinque Ports' fleet cannot be equated with a Royal Navy, but its existence and traditions made far easier the work of the Tudors when a Royal navy became for England an absolute necessity.

To-day the towns which comprised the Cinque Ports, the original five, Dover, Sandwich, Romney, Hythe and Hastings, and the subsequent additions of Winchelsea and Rye, are, with the exception of Dover, of small importance, partly because coastal erosion and extension and the construction of vessels of larger draught, and the rise in importance of the Atlantic and North Sea harbours, have altered the whole scheme of English maritime outlook. But there is still a Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, also Governor of Dover Castle, who possesses an official residence (Walmer Castle, though not so used), and who acts as Chairman of the Dover Harbour Board.

But while, up to the time of the Industrial Revolution, we hear much about London and Hull and Bristol, we hear also a good deal about many other ports which seem then to be of considerable importance, to-day of little or none. In the time

of the Roman occupation the chief port of Britain seems to have been Richborough in Kent; a glance at the map suggests adequate reasons, for from this port there is almost the shortest crossing from Britain to the Continent, and it is in the shelter of Pegwell Bay, where the Stour runs into the sea.

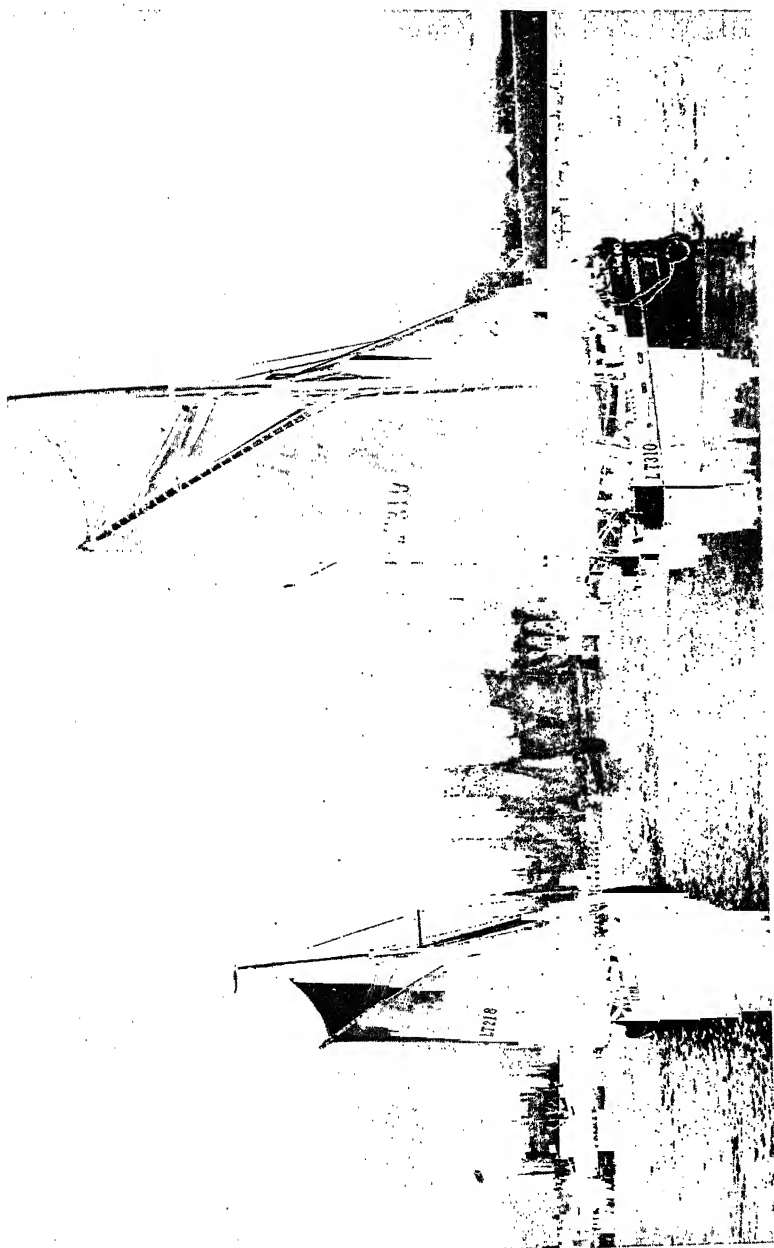
Go where we will about the English coasts, we find seaports which have fallen from their former high estate. The silting up of river estuaries has ruined some as sea-ports, notably Chester (until the eighteenth century the principal port of departure for Ireland) and Boston and various other towns with local street-names and traditions redolent of the sea, now so far inland that it is hard to believe they ever possessed harbours and quays; weather and wind have swept away others. At Richborough the sea threw up its bed and barred the haven to vessels. Rye and Romney were left stranded, in both senses of the word, for the formation of shingle beaches deprived them of their deep inlets. At Dunwich the fury of the tide swallowed the crumbling cliffs on which the town and its seven churches were built. Old Winchelsea suffered the same fate. But there is another reason why England is full of decayed ports. In the Middle Ages England's export trade, and a mighty trade it was, depended on wool. The sheep which provided the wool grazed on the low hills and in the plains; the market towns to which the wool had by law to be taken, and the ports which served them, were at the gates of the down and lowland country. Trade was not free; the wool trade, as regards marketing and export, was forced into certain towns, known as Staple Towns, so that customs dues could easily be collected, and it was illegal and impossible to trade in wool and cloth elsewhere. Each staple town had its particular port; Sandwich for Canterbury, Exmouth for Exeter, Yarmouth for Norwich. When the English wool trade declined, the inland towns and ports connected with the industry declined too, and while some of the mediæval ports, like Hull and Bristol, retained their importance as national outlets for the new goods dependent on coal and factories, many sank to the position in which we find them to-day.

The wool and cloth industry of England has suffered many vicissitudes, but in mediæval times it was so all-embracing that it could not fail to leave behind a memorial of itself.

England is full of small country towns the ancient wealth and importance of which are to-day still manifest, though in these times they appear to the motorist as small and sleepy in comparison with the cities of the industrial areas. But once men grew rich in the clothing trade, individual manufacturers and associations of merchants built for themselves and their towns noble houses and extravagant guildhalls; the markets had their Crosses and market halls. At Lavenham in Suffolk is a grand example of a clothiers' hall, and, particularly in the west of England, in the neighbourhood of the Cotswolds and the Welsh border, the Market Cross and Market Hall are to be found, as at Leominster and Chipping Campden, or in that most pictured and picturesque of all, the Yarn Market at Dunster in Somerset. Where there is trade, and townspeople congregate, there is a market, and the marketable goods must be protected from the weather; over all, in an age deeply coloured by religion, must stand the symbol of that religion. The system is a permanent one, as may be seen not only in the towns whose ancestry is very old, but also in the modern industrial city such as Bradford. Some of the noblest of English churches owe their inception or elaboration to the wealth of the wool merchants, of which fine examples may be seen among the Cotswolds and in East Anglia, which were centres of the mediæval woollen industry. Many exhibit the style of architecture known as Perpendicular, which closes the Gothic period.

The clothing industry too has left its mark on the English language. Serge and frieze are familiar terms, and the names of towns themselves, Lindsey and Kersey and Worstead, for example, have produced such trade terms as linsey and kersey and worsted. Even certain familiar surnames owe their origin to the industry, not obvious ones such as Weaver and Dyer alone, but Tucker (the tucker was the man who thickened the cloth), Comber, Tozer (or 'teaser,' which has given us the dog-name Towser), and perhaps Walker, the man who trampled the cloth to the proper depth, also.

The development of English trade, greatly helped by the contact with foreign lands into which the Crusades brought England, enriched the English vocabulary. Arabic and Persian words entered the language, like *azure* and *saffron*, and the town of Damascus gave us our English *damask*. Cotton, sugar,



LOWESTOFT FISHING FLEET

“To carry English goods, English sea-going vessels were necessary” (p. 173.)



ROUGH SEAS, PURBECK

"The assault of British tempests and the menace of British rock-bound coasts" (p. 190.)

and oranges, all new-brought to the West, are of similar origins and so are the names of most jewels, like the carbuncle and beryl.

The early Middle Ages saw the rise of the English University. Cricklade in Wiltshire claims to be the home of an ancient University, but no record of it exists; there is a tradition that King Ælfred the Great was the founder of what later became University College at Oxford. Certainly in the first half of the twelfth century there would seem to have been 'schools' at Oxford, but in 1167 Henry II summoned to England all those English clerks who were holding church livings here and residing abroad, perhaps as students in the University of Paris. Possibly these congregated at Oxford, situated on the Thames, a highway of traffic, between the well-populated south-west and midlands, and, attracting teachers, continued their studies. A somewhat similar migration occurred when John, then excommunicated by the Church, allowed the townspeople of Oxford to revenge in 1209 the death of one of their members at the hands of a scholar, which so frightened the students that many fled to Cambridge, which, if not so prominent a mediæval town as Oxford, was on the way between the north and London and protected by the Fens. It seems to have been a sheer accident that congregations of scholars elsewhere faded away and that we do not have the Reading and Stamford, or Northampton, Boat Race instead of one between Oxford and Cambridge.

Charitable nobles anxious to enable poor scholars to pursue their studies, and to save their own souls, in the thirteenth century began to endow 'hostels' or places of residence where a band of undergraduates could live a communal life under the presidency, ultimately, of a graduate—a man who was a *Master* of Arts. To a Chancellor of their University they owed rents, and he became the controller of all the hostels and halls which appeared. The first of these became, round about 1280, University College. But previously Walter de Merton, in 1264, had placed the students benefiting from his benevolence under the rule of legally enforceable statutes; his foundation was accordingly a society rather than an agglomeration of scholars, and Merton must be held to be the first College. The fact that he constructed his buildings in the form of a quadrangle

round an open court and provided a church independent of the urban churches seems to have resulted in the familiar characteristics of Colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, the buildings surrounding one or more open squares ('quads,' at Oxford, 'courts' at Cambridge) and including a private chapel. Inns were not numerous, and so a dining hall for the use of the students became a necessity. The oldest Cambridge College is Peterhouse, founded by a Bishop of Ely in 1284. The number of colleges at each University quickly grew, and some (such as the institutions which subsequently became Worcester and Trinity at Oxford) were monastic, filled with students who were also members of the Benedictine Order.

The great educational figure of the Middle Ages in England is William of Wykeham, who, seeing the danger to the status of the University from the entry of illiterate youths, founded his College of St. Mary at Winchester to educate those who would afterwards proceed to his foundation of New College in the University of Oxford. Winchester College was a school by itself, in no way dependent on an earlier cathedral or parish church, and so in a way the senior of the English Public Schools. The ordinances which governed New College made it not a mere dormitory and restaurant but an organisation under whose auspices the members could study the arts and philosophy, theology and law. It is thus the senior of the type of College as the modern University understands the term. A similar connection between school and university was to be established later when Henry VI founded the College of St. Mary at Eton and the King's College at Cambridge. A still later development of the same idea is the 'close scholarship,' by which financial assistance towards residence at a particular college is offered not for open competition but only to pupils of the school connected with the founder of the gift. But for all other developments of current features from the mediæval university the reader is referred to a volume dealing with its history; space does not here permit of further elaboration.

The foremost scholars of mediæval Europe were the Arabs, who poured much learning into the Continent and so into England, and to this fact a whole section of the English vocabulary owes itself. Such words as *zero*, *almanac*, *algebra*, *zenith*,

alcohol (the *al* being the Arabic *el*=the), date in our language to the twelfth century.

But though education and learning made great strides, the Middle Ages remained an age of superstition. Life was so insecure, knowledge so slender, individual and unorthodox opinion so unpopular, that mediæval man could easily believe the impossible. The help of man against the desire of his enemies proved so vain that he sought comfort in anything which might possess miraculous powers of protection and of the granting of an answer to his prayers; everything outside his small mental and physical orbit was so vague and shadowy that he peopled it with terrors and monsters; his Church taught him to believe in a Devil who walked the earth and to fear the powers of darkness and witchcraft. Almost he made idols of the images and relics and saints; credulous enough to trust in its miraculous powers, he would buy as the thumb-bone of an obscure saint a mouldy object which common sense should have told him was gleaned by an unscrupulous pedlar from a neighbouring midden. For his soul's salvation he made pilgrimage to shrines like those of the martyred Thomas à Becket at Canterbury and of Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk; firmly he believed that the Holy Thorn at Glastonbury sprouted from Joseph of Arimathea's staff. The mumblings and ill-tempered curses of aged witless crones he took to be spells cast by their power as witches; in cats and toads and bats he saw the translation of imps and demons into familiar guise; a spectacularly non-moral and successful robber-baron was undoubtedly of diabolic parentage. The stories with which he, as a faithful Christian, invested the life of the furtive Jew were legion; men spoke with bated breath of how in impious mockery of the Crucifixion they slew a child on Good Friday and indulged in an awful Feast of the Passover in which the body was boiled and the blood drunk. Countries remote from England were so inconceivable that they must of necessity harbour strange and fearful beasts; unicorns to be tamed only by virgins, and griffins with lions' bodies and eagles' wings, salamanders capable of existence only in raging flame and basilisks or cockatrices which were hatched by a serpent from the egg of a cock.

Few mediævalists possessed a spark of scientific knowledge;

and the average leech or physician was no better than his lay brother. Mediæval doctors borrowed their theories from the Greek, believing the body to contain four liquids or 'humours'—blood, phlegm, yellow bile (choler), and black bile (melancholy). Lack of a due proportion of these four fluids produced the abnormal: we still speak of a man being good-humoured or ill-humoured, and as choleric or melancholic, sanguine or phlegmatic, a temperament which the mediæval G.P. would have ascribed to an excess of the relevant liquid. Many pages might be covered with a description of such theories and the kindred ones that three spirits, the animal (*anima*, soul), the vital, and the natural, ran through the arteries, and that the temperature of the blood rose with excitement, so that passionless people were said to be cold-blooded, and the blood of angry individuals to boil. Astrology, the science of the interpretation of the relative positions of the planets and stars, and alchemy, the art which concerns itself with the transmutation of metals, real or symbolic, played a great part in mediæval thought. A man's whole character was influenced by the planet in the ascendant when he was born; he was (and still is) said to be jovial or saturnine or mercurial, and if he unfortunately went mad, then he was under the influence of *Luna* the moon, and was a lunatic. (It must be obvious that we are still by no means free from mediæval superstition. Two examples will suffice: many people will not sleep in a room with the windows uncurtained for fear the moon's rays might strike the face and cause insanity; it is unlucky to sit down thirteen at table, as recalling the fatal Last Supper.) Astrological terms have come down to us in great number; *disaster*, or the separation of the stars from a beneficent combination which would work well for a man, for example.

The English Middle Ages saw the birth of the English theatre; not the theatre as Shakespeare knew it, but that of the Miracle Plays, performed by the craft guilds in churchyards and churches, representing scenes from Biblical history, with personifications of the Moralities and Virtues and Vices added, and a good deal of low comedy as well to relieve the monotony of uplift. The text of some of these, such as *Everyman* and the *Wakefield Shepherds' Play*, have remained for our consideration and are still performed. Not a few other

contemporary amusements date back to the Middle Ages, but we should be wrong in thinking of the mediæval period as necessarily their starting-point, and this statement applies to much of the foregoing. We think of May-day merriments, of the Maypole and the Folk Dance, as peculiarly mediæval, but obviously they date back to much earlier pagan festivals in honour of the goddess of Spring and the deities of the woods and fields and to a fertility-cult. Mediæval man was a great hunter, preserving game and chasing the deer with hound and horse. The forests of England were royal and the deer were the king's, though local baronial rights of chase existed. A mediæval 'forest' is not necessarily woodland any more than a modern deer-forest is a place of trees, for the wolf and the red deer lived as much on the mountain and the moor as in the plain. A 'forest' simply means an open space where cultivation of the soil was discouraged and the beasts of the chase could increase undisturbed; still on the ordnance map we find the name 'forest' where there is hardly a tree to be seen; for example, the Forest and Frith of Lune extending over the fells north of the Barnard Castle-Kirkby Stephen railway line. The New Forest, which was William the Conqueror's delight, admittedly contains vast stretches of woodland, but the woods are interspersed with clearings and villages. So they must have been in early mediæval times, for there were needed men to preserve the royal hunting-grounds against the wiles of poachers and open country in which to ride if the pursuit were not to be cramped and slow among the trees. So all about England we find the royal hunting-lodges, and though the penalties for slaying the king's deer were heavy—a man found so doing might lose eyes or skin and a dog claws or feet—a starving peasant might well take the risk of detection, and bands of outlaws, Englishmen exiled from their fathers' homes following the Norman Conquest, or partisans of an unsuccessful rebel lord, might haunt the security of the forests and feed well on the trout of the stream and the deer of the brake. Such an one, perhaps, was Robin Hood of Sherwood Forest by Nottingham, whose date cannot accurately be determined but whose legendary deeds and adventures have provided a whole literature, though the life-stories of many men may have been fostered on to a single

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England, have survived. Several private herds now exist, of which the best known is that of Chillingham in Northumberland.

If hawking has almost died out, archery has not altogether disappeared, though its practice is no longer a necessity; 'cambuc', a form of hockey, was forbidden by Edward III, and certain odd local variants of football trace their history back to mediæval times, but perhaps it came natural to any band of triumphant warriors to kick about their fallen foes' separated heads.¹

If the division at the close of the fifteenth century between the mediæval and the modern age is not altogether a sharp one, it is the only possible choice. We cannot possibly imagine the rise of a Henry VIII or an Elizabeth above the 'baronage rampant,' or Edward I in trouble with petty squires and critical parish priests, or a mediæval Earl of Warwick becoming a commercial magnate in the negro slave trade. There is no echo of the clash of sword on shield at Bosworth Field or Barnet in Cromwell's Ironsides singing a psalm while the horse gathers for the pursuit, and no suggestion of the King being replaceable at the people's will in the deposition of Edward II or Richard II by a superior force. When we read of the matrimonial difficulties of Henry VIII and James I legislating against the use of tobacco, we feel ourselves not so far distant from James Watt's tea-kettle and George Stephenson's *Rocket*, but to visualise these in connection with Henry VI founding Eton or Henry II's bare back scourged in penitence for the murder of Becket is as unbelievable as the dragons and warlocks and miracles of the Middle Ages themselves. There comes an end to all things, and the end of the Middle Ages comes when, after four centuries of an alternately triumphant monarchy and baronage, the crown of England is picked out of a thorn-bush on Bosworth Field and placed on the head of the descendant of simple Welsh farmer-squires, while the last of the barons lie upon the plain in a blood-soaked ring.

¹ Sport and games are referred to again at the end of Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TUDOR LEGACY

“O, brave new world,
That has such people in't.”

—SHAKESPEARE: *The Tempest*.

THE AGE of the Tudors is that which has most completely captured the imagination not only of its contemporaries, but also of men and women of the present day. It is curious that the Englishman, with his regard for inconspicuous mediocrity, should display such passionate interest in spectacular personalities, be they rogues or saints, assassins or sots. His heroes are not men such as Oliver Cromwell or William Ewart Gladstone or Henry II; yet at the name of Richard Cœur-de-Lion or of Henry VIII or of Elizabeth he feels like Sir Philip Sidney whenever he heard the old story of Percy and Douglas, “his heart moved more than with a trumpet.” It is perhaps mere humanity; he despises the altogether inefficient, and to compensate has a disproportionate regard for anyone who does something more successfully or more splendidly or more whole-heartedly than he can himself. The fact is that, while totally unwilling to admit it, he is an incurable romantic, even to the point of admitting virtual foreigners like Mary Queen of Scots and the Young Pretender to the national hierarchy. He will endure a play about Abraham Lincoln or Queen Anne, but what he really enjoys—and the cinema can give him what he desires—is the *Private Life of Henry VIII* or the tragedy of the Tudor Rose, or the loves of Mary Queen of Scots.

The Englishman has had to make the most of the Tudor characters, for it is a long time before he again gets anything so spectacular to admire. Just as to the Londoner Buckingham Palace, the town house of the monarch, and the Tower, the guardian of the old City, mean infinitely more than do the Houses of Parliament or Westminster Abbey, so the great Tudors occupy his mind to the exclusion of the statesmen and

warriors of later years until it becomes a question of Nelson and Victoria. There is no existing portrait of the mature Henry VIII which gives an impression of anything but conscious superiority over his fellow-creatures, as of a man who could impose his proud passionate will on a nation and destroy a Church and a moral code in the process. The average man recognises in Elizabeth a meanness and humanity akin to his own faults; he can be at home with the virago who could swear like a fishwife and threaten to unfrock a bishop, and with the woman who sought the company of her 'pretty young men' and cried out against the fate which, though ostensibly she was virgin, derived her from a barren stock. Every man can see in Mary of Scotland the queen of romance, with a throat so delicate and white that the wine could be seen through it as she drank, and who brought to the mind of all who beheld her the færy queen of another world, whom all desired but none could hope to win. The Tudors satisfied a popular demand for relief from commonplace mediocrity; a demand which to all intents and purposes remained unassuaged for centuries afterwards until the silver screen brought the Errol Flynn's and Katharine Hepburns and Charles Laughtons within reach of the public gaze, exactly as Marlowe and Shakespeare and their fraternity made Macbeth and Henry V and Cleopatra live before men's eyes.

The Englishman has indeed never quite got rid of the Tudor legacy. He has never altogether recovered from the sight of people whose grandfathers had not been beyond the confines of the parish boundary sailing to the Indies and the Americas, or from his surprise at seeing the sons of respectable shopkeepers taking the London stage by storm. He acquired a consciousness of latent capabilities when he found himself defeating the Armada; he found it, to his amazement, not only possible but extraordinarily easy to enter the fellowship of the martyrs by way of the stake and the bonfire. He suddenly discovered life to be an exciting thing. Everybody remembers that in that portion of a text-book devoted to the Tudor period the operative words seemed to be 'Renaissance' and 'Reformation,' and the significant phrases 'Age of Discovery' and 'the spacious days.' Obviously something novel happened to Englishmen about the time the Tudors were reigning.

Men's minds awoke and were awakened to the wonders around them. A little before the first Tudor came to the throne, Caxton set up his printing press in the Almonry at Westminster, and to the eternal benefit of Englishmen translated and published the writings of Europe and the East in the English language. The tradition of divergence of speech between court and country, between one ancient Anglo-Saxon kingdom and another, was dying hard; there could with difficulty be an English nation without a common English speech. Where would have been the national popularity of Spenser or of Shakespeare, what profit could there have been in a translation of the Scriptures into English, while the words for the commonest articles, such as eggs, varied from shire to shire?

Caxton was a typical product of his period, for it is during the Tudor age that the learning of the centuries came to England. Copernicus reminded men that so far from the earth being the stationary centre of all things it moved round the sun, Galileo displayed to an astonished world that this little earth was but an infinitesimal part of a greater system. To its confines man could not hope to penetrate; meanwhile, following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, the wisdom and the theories of the Greece of Socrates, of Plato and of Aristotle was freed from its mediæval isolation and delivered to a curious world. Here there was much to explore, and Greek speculations and calculations as to the geographical constitution of this world were about to be put to the test. The new spirit in men was in rebellion against privilege and monopoly and dogma; it sought to loose the stranglehold which the Italian cities, Genoa and Venice in particular, seated astride the trade-routes between western Europe and the wealth of the Orient, possessed and which were the source of the profits of trade. The mariners of Portugal rounded the Cape of Good Hope and found the way to the Indies by sea. Columbus, convinced that the world was round and not, as previous ages, ignorant of classic geographers, would have it, flat, sought to reach the East by sailing westwards, and opened to men's activities a brave new world. Cabot, sailing from his adopted city of Bristol, reached the ice-bound coasts of Labrador.

Englishmen were forced to share in this age of discovery,

whether they would or not. No foreign army had threatened our island for three centuries; rather, Englishmen had denied their natural course and sought to return on their tracks. The movement of peoples had been ever from east to west, and in the Crusades and the Hundred Years' War against France Englishmen had been denying their logical destiny. Almost they were without a footing on the Continent; the last English possession in Europe, Calais, had they but known it, was to be lost in Mary Tudor's reign. Now they were themselves again in danger from an attack from the Continent in the form of the might of Spain, and the Tudors had the wisdom to see that England's safety lay in the protection of her coasts against an enemy landing. The Royal Navy is a Tudor legacy,¹ even if Ælfred the Great is held to be its founder.

Yet the Royal Navy owes its origin as much to the commercial minds of the Tudors as it does to the discovery of a new world beyond the Atlantic or the threat of a Spanish Armada. Henry VII, the first king of England who was also a first-rate business man, recognised the advantages of securing the carrying trade of the world. The clothiers of the Low Countries were charging the English merchants a high price for bringing into Europe the raw wool which England supplied; Henry forbade the export of wool to the Continent unless it was taken to his own port of Calais; similarly he forbade the import of wine from Bordeaux unless it was carried in English ships. But these were too small for their purpose, and Henry himself built four great merchantmen, the *Sweepstake*, the *Mary Fortune*, the *Sovereign*, and the *Regent*. These were intended for trading ventures, to be lent to worthy merchants if they cared to charter them; Henry well knew his ships would be imitated. To encourage ship-building he offered cash for every ton built above a certain average. At first these ships indulged in European trade only, but when in 1497 John Cabot sailed from Bristol and discovered Newfoundland, "the Island Race was an Island Race no more. They had learned to cross the

¹ Curiously enough, the Tudors have some claim to be the founders also of the Army. Though its creation, as a standing army, is usually ascribed to Charles II's reign, the royal bodyguard, the Yeomen of the Guard (who are not the same as the Tower Warders), originated in Henry VII's time. It is they who search the Houses of Parliament before each new Parliament meets, commemorating the conspiracy of Guy Fawkes.

Atlantic . . . they had discovered the cod on the banks of the 'new-found-land,' and the cod was in itself remunerative enough to draw them across the Atlantic in voyages of uninterrupted continuity."¹ England found her shallow seas the paradise of great stores of edible fish; a race once familiar with a tradition of seamanship and adventure soon produced the English fishing industry, due not only to the Atlantic fishermen of Bristol and Plymouth and the whalers of Leith and the eastern ports, but to the North Sea raiders of Hull and Yarmouth and Grimsby also.

Henry VIII was a sea-lover from his birth. Greenwich was his favourite palace, for Greenwich lay between the royal dockyards of Woolwich and Deptford where his tall new ships were built and of which he was the founder. He, though his father may be said to have founded the Merchant Service, established the Royal Navy as a fighting force, for when he built the *Henri Grâce à Dieu*, the 'Great Harry,' he made her not simply a transport on whose 'fore-castle' and 'after-castle' cannon could be mounted at will, but placed his artillery in the cargo-deck, which could carry more and heavier ordnance than the superstructure, and so produced a fighting vessel capable of dealing a devastating broadside. Enough Great Harrys would not only guard the shores of England from attack, they would also protect the passage of trading-ships which could now carry more goods in place of weapons.

Meanwhile Spain and Portugal had discovered and partitioned the New World between them. England had no quarrel with the might of Spain and never disputed her claim to her discoveries, for Wolsey was busy trying to revoke England's westward policy by involving her in European politics; accordingly the reign of Henry VIII is not one of exploration. But once England had abandoned Wolsey's foreign policy, Englishmen again went west seeking new lands. Spain and Portugal had seized the Americas, but what lay beyond the Pacific Ocean which Balbao had seen in 1513? If English ships could find a passage thither round the north of the Americas or of Europe, England might acquire a new Empire even richer than that of Spain or Portugal. The attempts failed, but the profits of Chancellor's voyage to Russia

¹ CALLENDER: *The Naval Side of British History*.

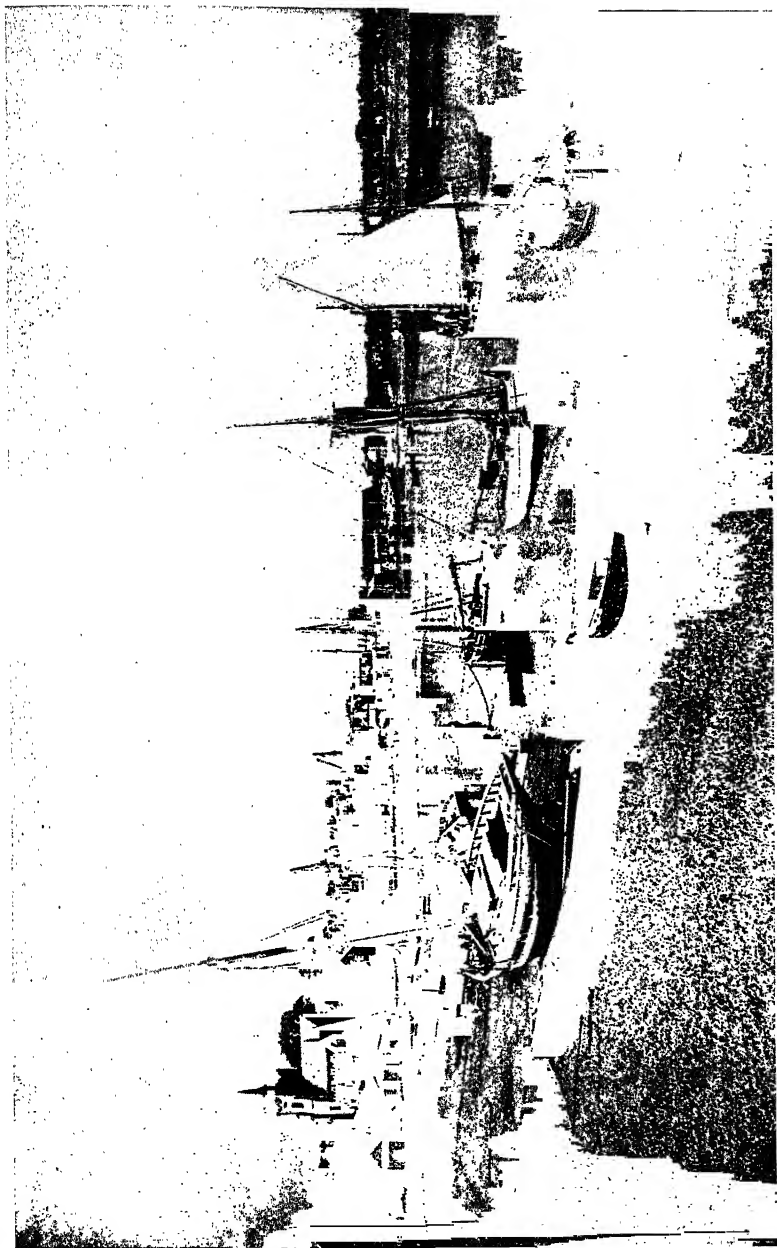
in his search for a north-east passage gave the English commercial mind an impetus. Hawkins saw the possibilities of developing a trade with the new American lands by means of seizing defenceless negroes in West Africa and selling them as slaves in Brazil and the West Indies, and found it an unbelievably profitable venture. Yet Philip II of Spain forbade the traffic, for England was now no longer a Catholic country, and the Spanish Americas were trading with heretics. The English Government, to whom Hawkins appealed, upheld the right of the Pope and His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain to bar Englishmen from the New World. But there were Englishmen who actively disagreed with the Government, notably Francis Drake. Spain had forbidden Englishmen to transport their property for sale in Spanish lands; Drake replied by capturing the mule-trains and the merchantmen bringing the precious metals of the Peruvian mines to Spain and removing the rich cargoes to England. Drake received more support than had been given to Hawkins—Elizabeth knighted him for his exploits on the deck of his ship, the *Golden Hind*—for by now England was no longer prepared to bow meekly to the decrees of Spain and the Pope. If Spain was to develop her new Empire in peace, obviously heretic England must be quelled, and the threat of the Armada and of a Spanish invasion of the British Isles followed. Unfortunately for Spain, Drake appeared in the harbour of Cadiz before the Armada could sail. The English broadsides settled the fortune of the day, and the departure of the Armada was postponed for a year. When the Armada did arrive in the English Channel, July 19th, 1588, the 'Royal Navy,' barely half a century old, had a tradition already of successful daring. By the end of the month, when the remnant of the Armada, battered once more by the English broadsides, fled northwards, preferring the assault of British tempests and the menace of British rock-bound coasts to that of her fleet, the reputation of English seamanship was assured. Porto Farino and Zeebrugge, Camperdown and Trafalgar, the Royal Navy's choicest exploits, depend not a little on the immediate triumph of the Senior, if youthful, Service. Her first hero should be Drake, the son of a man who for his Protestant sympathies had been hunted out of his native county of Devon.

But long before Drake voyaged round the world, the opposition to the mediæval Church indicated in the last chapter had come to full fruition. A combination of the ideas of strengthening England's independence of foreign influence, of Henry VIII's need for the legitimate heir who could be acquired only by a divorce from the unfertile Catherine of Aragon and remarriage, of acquiring the property of ecclesiastical institutions to strengthen the monarchy's financial stability and that of its friends, culminated in the separation of the English Church from the Roman Catholic Church and the exaltation of the monarchy as supreme over the Church as it was over the State, and in the suppression of the monasteries. It may be that the Church's contemporary power was overestimated—in Wolsey's time men believed there were in England 40,000 parishes, counted them, and found there were only 9,000—but Protestant Englishmen who had suffered persecution for their approval of the critical teaching of Wiclif and Tyndale made sure that a Church which had so long held them in subjection should suffer every form of attack. Popular feeling against the unreformed Church found expression not only in the destruction of the shrines of the English saints and martyrs, such as St. Thomas à Becket of Canterbury, and of the goals of pilgrimage like that of Our Lady of Walsingham, but also in the burning of sacred statues and crucifixes. No insult was too indecent to be heaped on the image of the Mother of God; no parody of the Sacrament of the Mass, the core of the Catholic religion, too vulgar to be applauded. A term everywhere recognised to-day as a synonym for trickery and fraud, *hocus-pocus*, is no more than an anglicisation of the Latin words of consecration in that same service—*hoc est corpus*.

The abbeys and monasteries of mediæval England as we see them to-day are ruined not because weather and wind have had their will of them, but because they were plundered. Rich glass and carved oak went to grace the houses of the king's friends; the buildings themselves became quarries for the farmer and the parvenu. Deliberate arson destroyed some; not even superstition could prevail against the rapacity of men, though the stones be consecrate and the ground the sepulchre of the dead.

Protestantism in England did not at once achieve this stupendous recognition; this movement of the people had to succeed in face first of the opposition of king, ministers and colleagues, but it was too strong a movement, too much a creation of the new spirit of enquiry and criticism, to be obliterated. No rising against the supporters of the reformed religion had any but the slenderest hope of success, and a great new body of royal champions came into being when half the wealth of the Church was, by decree of the King and his minister, Cromwell, transferred to lay control. A new nobility was being created in return for loyal support of the Crown; noble families whose names are everywhere to-day—Russells and Cavendishes, Fitzwilliams and Thynnes—came suddenly into prominence.

The houses the new nobility erected with their great wealth are to-day among England's show places; Wolsey, Henry VIII's minister, could build Hampton Court and York House, both later royal palaces, and endow Christ Church at Oxford; Chatsworth, Hatfield, Burleigh, Longleat, to mention only a few, mark the rise of the king's friends. There are many country houses to-day which are 'Abbeys' (e.g. Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*): not only the site but the stones were used for the new lay owner's mansions. The house built round a courtyard, as it was in earlier days, is characteristic of Tudor planning also. It reproduces, as a rule, most of the features of the mediæval house, of which the focus is the great hall, but the tendency to add a private dining-room now becomes noticeable. A 'long gallery,' with no very obvious use save for those of exercise and of dances, is a common feature. It is significant how many great houses of the period we find built in the shape of an H or E, recalling (though perhaps accidentally) the greatest of the Tudors, Henry VIII and his daughter Elizabeth. Not only the Crown's executive officers but the less influential country gentry shared in the royal triumph. An orgy of building resulted, giving us the Tudor manor-houses of the rural districts, and where stone was hard to come by, the halls built by filling a timber framework with bricks, wattle and daub, or lath and plaster, and producing the 'magpie' or black and white effect which we find at its best in Little Moreton Hall in Cheshire.



MALDON

“Ships . . . there had to be; we can picture how important was England’s marine business” (p. 173.)



THE ANCHORAGE AT YEALM

"A race familiar with a tradition of seamanship and adventure" (p. 189.)

The stone-built house we find mostly in the west and north of the country, and many of the best examples are to be seen among the Cotswold valleys. Timber frameworks have been strong enough to endure to the present day, though much of the material originally filling the spaces they enclosed has perished, especially where the protective plaster with which it was overlaid has been stripped off. But much good brick 'nogging' has survived, and often the tiles and slates also which were used as an alternative to the bricks or the weather-boards which connected the lattice of beams. Most cottage homes were of course less solidly built. There are still plenty of survivals the composition of which is clay or chalk mud, bound by means of mixing the material with straw, and stiffening the result with sticks.

It was in the Tudor period that Englishmen learnt how to live. It is impossible to call it an age of security, but the era of private war and of the virtual slavery of the peasant had gone. Men might go abroad or attend the Court, but, their journeyings over, sought for somewhere to rest. The tradition of looking after their own estates instead of ravaging those of others began to establish itself; men began to make themselves homes. "In the Middle Ages men built monasteries, churches, castles, and walled towns. In the Tudor time they built homes for men to live in."¹ The need for the grim battlemented castle had gone, for it was powerless against gunpowder, and men's minds had turned from the darkness of dungeons and breachless towers to the sunshine and the air. The Tudors first planted a garden in England, an impossible luxury in the days of castles continually besieged, and laid out their pleasure with smooth lawns, broad terraces, and flights of balustraded steps, decorated with fountains and statues whose forms were borrowed from classical mythology, bordered with avenues in which the trees and shrubs were cut into fantastic shapes. In the construction of their houses and gardens they owed much to the Italian and Dutch styles, into contact with which Englishmen now came; not yet were they freed from the mediæval tradition which had taken so strong a hold, and tower-flanked gateways and high battlemented walls survived until a late date. The characteristic

¹ LEATHES: *The People in Adventure*.

of a Tudor building is its ripe mellowness, a quiet fullness which is not the mere result of the passing of time. Cotswold stone and red brick assisted in the acquisition of such an atmosphere, as did the thatched, tiled or slated timber- and plaster-work which in the English cottage made the English village no longer a thing of meanness. The hovel became a home, and the fortress became a mansion, as the knight became the gentleman. A much-advertised 'unspoilt English village' is almost always Tudor in essentials; modern builders and estate agents' architects, conscious of the ideal if incapable of fulfilling it, display a tendency to indicate in the most unsuitable of situations and with the most unpromising material the characteristics of Tudor domestic architecture.

Sufficient furniture of the Tudor period—and of earlier days—has survived for us to see its comparative lack of complexity and volume. Tables were mostly of the board and trestle type; stools and window-seats served as seating accommodation; chairs come somewhat late in time. The chief mediæval article of furniture, indeed, was the chest. The Tudor age naturally sees developments; tables acquire legs, and the gate-legged version also makes its appearance. The chest develops into the cupboard—originally a board for the display of metal cups—and the bed, canopied and curtained and carved, reaches a high state of elaboration. Wooden table furniture was replaced by utensils of silver or pewter; tapestry, table- and bed-linen, carpets and ornaments, all came into general use, by the farmer and less wealthy folk as well as the gentleman.

The age was not one of church-building. Fittings, under the influence of the Renaissance, became more elaborate; the atmosphere of the Reformation was obviously not conducive to the foundation or improvement of parish churches.

The course and character of the ecclesiastical reformation is a matter for the historian, and much of the results thereof are the concern of doctrinal theology alone. But we may rejoice that as a nation we received our English Bible and Prayer Book at a time when the English language was at its prime. Four centuries have failed to produce a lovelier prose or a fitter selection of vocabulary as a substitute for Miles Coverdale's work and that of his associates. That it is largely a translation

from Hebrew poetry in the original is true enough, but it required genius of a high order to produce so brilliant a translation, whether from Hebrew or Latin or Greek. Poetry there is indeed of an almost unsurpassed standard in:

“Or ever the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel broken at the cistern.”

And—

“The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handiwork.

Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge.

There is no speech nor language, where their voice is not heard.”

And—

“Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him.

For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.”

“For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.”

And—

“If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable. But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.

For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.

For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.”

“If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus; what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die.”

And in that most perfectly phrased of prayers—

“Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee, O Lord, and by thy great mercy defend us from all perils and dangers of this coming night.”

One has only to read a version of the Bible in modern speech to see to what extent, though the revision may be more easily understandable, England has profited by receiving a late mediæval translation enriched by Tudor thought.

The New Learning, in its gift to England of new tongues, helped to produce the Tudor literary heritage. Its earliest adherents exposed to their countrymen the riches of European authors in the form of translations. Shakespeare, for example, used North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, and if the mind is carried much further forward Keats's sonnet "On First Looking Into Chapman's Homer" is remembered. The Reformation of the English Church, though ultimately it substituted English for Latin as the national Church's tongue, failed altogether to ~~and~~ the spread of classical learning; though in the destruction of the monasteries hundreds of priceless MSS. disappeared, the good sense of men like Bodley, Archbishop Parker, and the antiquary Leland preserved a mass of pre-Reformation material on which we largely depend for our knowledge of the details of mediæval history. At the same time men like Camden and Leland preserved for us a picture of their own times in their topographical and archæological writings. As the adventurers sailed to the four quarters of the globe, the information with which they returned was disseminated through the medium of the printed page. "The *Collection of Voyages*, which was published by Hakluyt, not only disclosed the vastness of the world itself, but the infinite number of the races of mankind, the variety of their laws, their customs, their religions, their very instincts."¹ But, noble as is the tale of English poetry which begins with Chaucer, to be revived by Spenser in the *Færie Queene* and to arrive at full fruition with Shakespeare, it is in the drama that the English Renaissance finds its most vivid expression. The classics were for the scholar, tales of travel for the merchant, poetry for the courtier, archæology for

¹ J. R. GREEN: *A Short History of the English People*.

the lawyer, but the drama was for the people. The drama of ecclesiastical ritual was passing with the Reformation; the old Morality and Miracle Plays were becoming overfamiliar and stereotyped, and in truth did by no means satisfy the popular taste. The average unschooled Englishman found it tedious and uninspiring to survey the caperings of symbolic Virtues and Vices, or the representations of Noahs and Elijahs who were to him as unreal and outside his limited imagination as their enactors were familiar to him in that they were his neighbours Mog the miller and Chips the carpenter. He wanted something more human, more concrete, nearer his heart and his head; a touch of romance and of poetry, a representation of the great men and women whose lineal heirs were all about him that day made his pleasure complete.

“Rude as the theatre might be, all the world was there. The stage was crowded with nobles and courtiers. Apprentices and citizens thronged the benches in the yard below. The rough mob of the pit inspired, as it felt, the vigorous life, the rapid transitions, the passionate energy, the reality, the lifelike medley and confusion, the racy dialogue, the chat, the wit, the pathos, the sublimity, the rant and buffoonery, the coarse horrors and vulgar bloodshedding, the immense range over all classes of society, the intimacy with the foulest as well as the fairest developments of human temper, which characterised the English stage.”¹

Fortunately, there were dramatists capable of giving this new public what it wanted. Contrast the flatness of—

“Our king went forth to Normandy,
With grace and might of chivalry;
God for him wrought marvellously,
Wherefore England may call and cry

Deo gratias:

Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria.

¹ J. R. GREEN: *A Short History of the English People*.

He set a siege, the sooth for to say,
 To Harfleur town with royal array;
 The town he won, and made a fray,
 That France shall rue till domes day.

Deo gratias:

Deo gratias Anglia redde pro victoria"—

with any of the better-known passages from Shakespeare's *Henry V*—say:

"Now all the youth of England are on fire,
 And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies;
 Now thrive the armourers, and honour's thought
 Reigns solely in the breast of every man:
 They sell the pasture now, to buy the horse;

.

For now sits Expectation in the air;
 And hides a sword, from hilts unto the point,
 With crowns imperial, crowns, and coronets
 Promised to Harry, and his followers."

"Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;
 Or close the wall up with our English dead!

.

The game's afoot;
 Follow your spirit: and, upon this charge,
 Cry—God for Harry! England! and Saint George!"

Shakespeare was the master-hand at giving the public what it wanted.

"The audience demanded a fool and he gave them Feste and the Fool in *Lear*. They demanded a Jew who should be baited and he gave them Shylock. They demanded witches and he gave them *Macbeth*. They demanded blood and he gave them *Othello* and *Hamlet*. Most of all they demanded poetry . . ."¹

¹ S. P. B. MAIS: *An English Course for Schools*.

The Elizabethan drama left England with a legacy not confined to the texts of the plays; it left a tradition of English drama which, save for a short period, has never departed. Characteristically and illogically, the Englishman has an insensate love of the dramatic provided he is asked to take no part therein, which has assisted in the preservation of much mediæval splendour and ritual. His feelings on the subject of pageantry were recently vividly displayed when an utility royal wedding was contemplated. He dislikes any ceremony or custom to be shorn of its pomp and pageantry: coronations and Assizes and episcopal enthronements appeal to him; the opening of a new power station does not. His interest in so modern an innovation as the business of a municipal or Parliamentary election is practically negligible, outside the political issue involved.

The New Learning accelerated the growth of the education of the middle class. The mediæval schools, apart from those attached to ecclesiastical foundations, were few in number, and altogether insufficient for providing the steady supply of educated laymen who in increasing numbers took the place of clerics as the kingdom's lawyers and the Crown's ministers. In England Dean Colet's foundation in the precincts of St. Paul's, later removed to Hammersmith, set the standard which was quickly imitated. The provinces are full of 'grammar schools' whose titles advertise their Tudor origin or reformation. The name of King Henry VIII is recalled by a foundation at Coventry, and many schools known simply as 'King's,' though usually they are revivals of older foundations, recall his patronage—Chester, Canterbury, Warwick, Worcester, for example. Most numerous are the 'King Edward VI' schools which appear in many parts of England, principally in the midland counties around Birmingham; Elizabeth lent her patronage to a dozen or more, one of which has a title breathing the spirit of Tudor flamboyance—'The Grammar School of Elizabeth, Queen of England, in Tamworth.' The geographical situations of the schools bearing the names of Edward VI and Elizabeth are significant; mostly they are in the centres of the clothing and export trades and where new industries—iron and steel, for example—were growing up. Thus, among other places, we find them at Chelmsford,

Southampton, Norwich, Nuneaton, Stourbridge, Penrith, Blackburn, Mansfield, Leicester, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Wakefield. Mary Tudor was less prolific, but has Walsall and Basingstoke to her credit. But the Tudor sovereigns must not be thought of as patrons of learning. Their names have become connected with contemporary foundations or revivals, yet, particularly Edward VI, they not infrequently destroyed old schools and acquired the endowments.

Quite apart from the new foundations, the oldest English schools, such as Sherborne, St. Albans, and St. Peter's, York, received fresh endowments. The commercial success of Tudor and early Stuart merchants is the key to the richness of many of the older public schools, though their history may date to a period long before the sixteenth century. City magnates and lawyers invested in property in and outside the City of London, which later, with the increase of its importance, became exceptionally valuable. Here is to be found the reason for the rich endowments of the Harpur Trust which controls the Bedford schools, and of Lawrence Sheriff's and John Lyon's and Andrew Judd's foundations at Rugby, at Harrow, and at Tonbridge. The popularity of the drama enabled Edward Alleyn, an actor, to found and endow Dulwich College and other schools which bear his name.

The dissolution of the monasteries made it more necessary than ever that schools in substitution for the abbey institutions should be brought into being, but the foundations were altogether insufficient for the needs of the times, and their endowments far less at that time than those of their predecessors. The number of students in the English universities in consequence decreased, and the influence of the university graduate in the succeeding century is in consequence small.

But, very largely due to the university graduate of the earlier stages of the Tudor period, the literary heritage of the sixteenth century is the finest in the history of English literature. It is an expression of new-found freedom, a pæan of thankfulness for deliverance from the cramping and constricting teaching of the clerics and the schoolmen. Men had grown tired of thinking only of the things of another world; they had suddenly become intensely interested in their own. They had discovered a New World to the west of them; in the things of the spirit

they found a New World all round them. The veil which shrouded the Past had been torn away, and they used the legacy of the Past to look forward to the Future. It was not only lawful, it was expedient to take an interest in Man as well as in God. The mediæval romances, the legends of King Arthur and his Knights, the chivalry and high adventure, had been for the nobility alone, as the ballads which were sung in the chimney-corner and at the fair and the miracle plays and mummings had been for the common people; a people found its voice and exercised it in song and drama, something a nation and not a class alone could share. There burst upon a receptive world the dramatic poetry of Christopher Marlowe, pouring into its ears not the set phrases of the morality plays, but white-hot extravagant verse of a kind men had never imagined, filling their eyes not with the conventional impersonations of Vice and Greed with which they had been familiar from their cradle, but with the spectacle of captive kings chained to their conqueror's chariot and with the vision of a man who by the art magical the Church condemned could possess Helen of Troy for his paramour and all the riches of the Indies for his delight. It is characteristic that the end of so many of the Elizabethan poets was a violent one, and that, the first hot-blooded frenzy past, there succeeded Shakespeare, who was 'not of an age, but for all time' and 'the heritage we would not exchange for India'. As we do with the Bible, we quote his writings every day and are ignorant of the fact that we are quoting; he is a part of ourselves. Yet it is doubtful if his own age recognised his place in history: William Camden's *Remains concerning Britain* gives a list of eleven contemporary poets with William Shakespeare last in the list.

Shakespeare the dramatist and poet, Shakespeare the national institution, is beyond the scope of this book, but perhaps mention of his limitations may not be out of place, for they are to some extent the limitations of the Elizabethan age. Our heroes are not his; with such splendid material to depict from life he never gave us a Walter Raleigh or a Francis Drake, for he was a thinker, not a man of action. In his delineation of women he is usually unhappy; Ophelia and Desdemona are colourless and spineless, many are shrews, many blameless nonentities like Perdita and Miranda, many

more masculine than feminine, like Portia or Rosalind. Cordelia might have been a success, but we have so few lines of her; characteristically, the one woman Shakespeare altogether successfully painted is—Cleopatra. He never with any degree of probability depicted the human boy; he made no capital out of the discoveries which were going on in the world around him. He could write, in *King John*—

“Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them:”

just as the basis of the *Mappa Mundi* in Hereford Cathedral, with Jerusalem at the centre of the world, was the three land masses of Europe, Asia and Africa, and as if the Americas had never been heard of. He was a snob, and as such characteristic of the Elizabethan of the upper classes, who recognised his co-equals and the lower classes, but nothing in between. From this attitude the Englishman has never recovered; the backbone of England has ever been ignored by the head and by the feet. But he possessed a musical ear and a sense of the fitness of things which have never been excelled nor even equalled.

“His was not that cloistered virtue which Milton held so much in contempt, which refused to sally forth and seek its adversary; rather at times did gentle Shakespeare suffer horrible torture amid the dust and heat. . . . Through tribulation he came to know men better, and out of the fire he came purified seven times, so that he left behind, as his testament to mankind, poetry so rich and full of multitudinous beauties that the language in which it was written has become the noblest in the world. . . . It is the greatest privilege that we enjoy as Englishmen that this man was of our blood, an Englishman for the English. It is by far the greatest achievement that we as a nation have yet wrought that we have produced Shakespeare.”¹

Yet Shakespeare's spectacular age, so rich in discoveries and novelties, produced for England a problem which has never left her—the problem presented by poverty. The decay

¹ S. P. B. MAIS: *An English Course for Schools*.

of the Manorial System has already been sketched, and a suggestion made that the English countryside was beginning to shape itself into something with which we to-day are familiar. The lord's share in the manor had been a comparatively small thing. His wants were reasonably simple, and, in a time of insecurity, the less he owned, the less he had to lose. With security came the opportunity and the desire for greater ostentation; the great houses of England must each stand in their own private park, where the cottages of the lesser folk could not spoil the gentleman's view. Such a park could be formed only by enclosing the lands of the villagers. To a small extent, later to be intensified, the system of each man having his own compact hedge-bordered holding instead of scattered strips in the common fields came into force. Still, early in the Tudor period, England's chief industry was the production of wool, a far more profitable undertaking than the growing of crops. It was to a landlord's advantage to expel his tenants, enclose by means of a fence their holdings, and use the land for sheep-farming rather than for growing wheat. Mediæval England had to all intents and purposes known no unemployment problem; drought and famine and murrain may have temporarily impoverished a village's or a district's inhabitants, but, though much labour may have been forced or 'sweated,' generally speaking there was work and a living for all, and provision for the unfit and aged. The enclosure movement threw whole villages out of work, and ruined churches and decayed homesteads marked their passing. Despite the rise of the English manufacturing town, of Sheffield with its steel industry, of Birmingham with its iron and armament trade, of Manchester and Newbury with their clothing organisations, the towns, old and new, could not hold and provide for all the distressed, and the spectre of unemployment reared its head. The organisation of industry in the corporate towns had declined, for the property of the guilds devoted to religious purposes had been confiscated in 1547, and already before this date the power of the guild as such had been broken. A single guild had endeavoured to secure a merger between itself and less prosperous guilds; the merchant who did the actual selling of an article used this advantage to the detriment of the craftsman who performed its actual manufacture. The

relations between capital and labour had begun to present an acute problem; it is this period which sees the rise of the Livery Company, whose members' splendid uniform and ostentatious wealth and privilege marked them off from the common operative. Wealth and not craftsmanship had become the accepted standard: the modern Worshipful Company of Fishmongers, or any other Livery Company, is an association of those who can afford to belong to such an organisation, not necessarily a combination of those interested in the wholesale and retail capture and marketing of fish. No longer could an apprentice look forward with comparative certainty to the ultimate position of a Master in his trade; as the rich formed themselves into associations for the benefit of its members and to resist competition, so the actual craftsmen were in self-defence compelled to form their own unions to protect their own interests. The merchants, in their dislike of competition, endeavoured to prevent the rise of the worker to the status they themselves enjoyed. Heavy fees and fines made it impossible for the common craftsman to set up his own establishment; wealth became concentrated in the hands of the few, whose power enabled them to impose still more rigorous conditions and lower wages on their dependants. The only weapon of the workman was the strike.¹

Thus developed England's first unemployment problem, which has since hardly deserted her. Exiles from the newly-enclosed villages, where fewer men were required for sheep-farming than had been needed for the cultivation of the land, discontented craftsmen from the chartered towns, where the difficulty of earning a living was increasing, took to the English roads in search of work or of the new towns which were free of the restricting influence of associations of wealthy merchants. A nursery rhyme preserves the memory of these unwanted guests:

‘Hark, hark! the dogs do bark;
The beggars are coming to town.’

¹ All this belongs rather to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than to the Tudor reigns. The results, however, are chiefly forthcoming in the sixteenth century, and so it is included here. The whole character is too familiar and modern to warrant discussion in a section which ends with the Wars of the Roses. The amateur economist can amuse himself by working out the probable effect of the flood of precious metal from the silver-mines and store-houses of the New World.

To meet these difficulties, distinctly modern tendencies developed, even though they may not have survived undamaged. A movement towards conscription grew up, under the influence of which all workmen might be compelled to labour in the fields to grow bread wherewith to feed England; the regulation of wages by the Justices of the Peace in accordance with the general level of prices first appeared at this time. To minimise the overcrowding of the highways by able-bodied workless men and women, whom poverty made desperate robbers and criminals, employment was to be for a year at least, and references to be furnished by the candidate for work. 'Hiring-fairs' for farm and domestic servants are not unknown to-day.

And now no longer could the religious establishments deal with the problem of the unemployed and of the infirm, for they had been destroyed. Charity had been the virtue of every Christian, especially of the professional practitioners of the Catholic religion; it had become the business of nobody, and the *status quo* had in some way to be restored. The very young, the very old, the very sick, had been cared for, in the isolation of the English mediæval village, by their kindred or in the monasteries and almshouses and hospices. 'In the mediæval village the idler would be brutally chastised, and in the mediæval town he would starve miserably,'¹ but he had grown in numbers and presented a formidable revolutionary element. Accordingly every parish was compelled to look after its own poor. Every householder was ordered to contribute to a poor-rate; almshouses were founded for the aged, the children provided the free labour, in return for bed and board, English industry needed. 'Unemployables,' the rebellious 'work-shy,' underwent chastisement in 'Houses of Correction,' emphasised by whippings, brandings, and, in extreme cases, capital punishment. The surplus were driven into workhouses where by their labour they might contribute something for the good of the community. Much of this remains, in however an altered form, for our inspection to-day. The English almshouse and the English workhouse are to be found in every corner of the countryside.

Obviously the Tudor age was a busy one, and yet men appeared to be enjoying a new-found leisure. England saw no

¹ DERRY: *Outlines of English Economic History*.

such age of sport again until the twentieth century, but of Tudor recreation little has survived, for it was mediæval sport intensified and popularised. Hunting and hawking had been the primary outdoor occupations of mediæval leisure; hawking went out of fashion as the falcons of the British Isles and their prey—the heron and the bittern, for example—became rarer. The science of falconry has left us a word with an altered meaning; hawks were once left to moult (*muer*) in a ‘mews,’ now ascribed to the alley containing stables in which are kept the horses on which men rode to enjoy the sport of hawking. Hunting in England is now confined to the chase of the fox, otter, hare and deer, and has become a well-organised and costly pursuit; curiously enough, the chief hunting hound of Tudor England, the greyhound, has quite recently again come into prominence, if for a different reason. But it is to Tudor times, with the rise of a numerous class of country gentry in contrast to the limited hierarchy of aristocratic nobility, that the English tradition of hunting belongs. In the sport of stag-hunting, for example, the method and terms of the chase have never altered; the quarry has always been given his fair start or ‘law,’ it is ‘harboured,’ it ‘soils’ or takes to the water, the ‘mort’ is sounded at its death. Hunting demanded the horse, and the improvement in the standard of the horse required for purposes other than that of drawing loads produced a new form of entertainment. The introduction of Arab blood permitted the production of a racehorse and the prototype of the modern hunter. The oldest race-meeting is that of Chester, which dates from 1540, the early prizes being a bull or a silver bell. York races began in 1607, and there is some evidence that private matches were held on Smithfield as early as 1174. The results of this breeding of horses persist in our daily speech; the term ‘thoroughbred’ is not exclusively applied to horses or even to animals; by contrast, the outstanding difference between the racehorse or hunter and the draught-horse has given us a term to apply to that which is not thoroughbred—‘hairy at the heel.’

Of Elizabethan games two at least have survived almost unchanged: tennis, the royal game, and that so beloved of the more youthful and slender Henry VIII, and bowls, constantly recalled to the mind not only by the picture of Sir

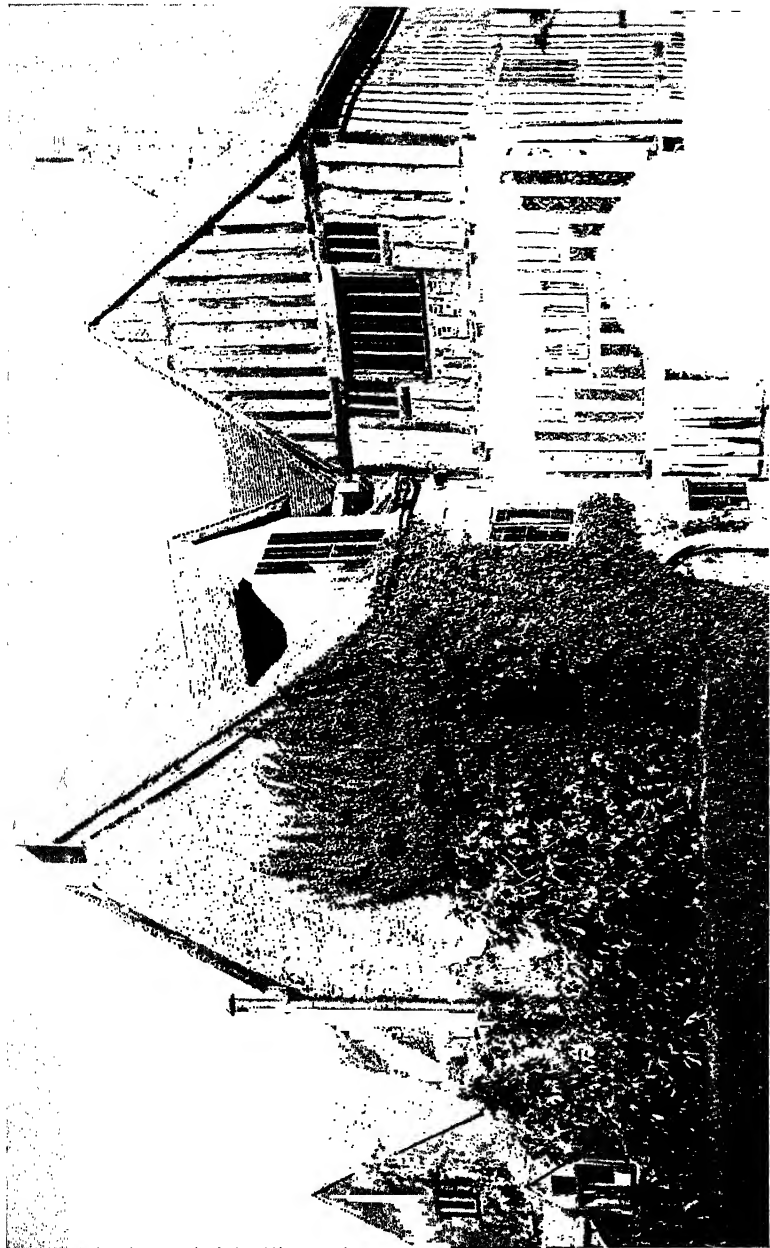
Francis Drake interrupted in a game by the news of the advent of the Armada, but also by its peculiar terms, such as 'bias' and 'there's the rub,' which it has transmitted into modern speech. Archery had gone out of universal use when cannon-balls took the place of arrows as a method of offence, but many a town preserves in a local name a memory of the place where the Butts or targets stood, at which it was compulsory for all able-bodied males to practise. We still speak of the 'upshot' of an event, a reminder of the day when battle ended in the victorious survivors letting off a flight of arrows skywards. If cock-fighting has not altogether disappeared from the lonelier parts of the English countryside, bear- and bull-baiting have been abandoned as the Englishman grew less bloodthirsty, though again in many an English town will an open space or enclosure still keep the name of the 'Bull Ring,' and the national dog, John Bull's depicted companion, is the modern survival of the bull-dog bred for the sport.

Maypoles and morris-dances (not of course Elizabethan in origin, but dating perhaps to a savage religious fertility-cult) have disappeared from the English scene, save where enthusiasts for a bygone age re-create in somewhat artificial fashion the amusements of their ancestors. It is a little later, when the Puritans discouraged communal and riotous sports as productive of immoral sentiments, that the Englishman really discovered his passion for games with a ball, and golf was its first child.

Life in Tudor England was almost too much for English citizens. It was an age of such startling development that reaction was bound to set in, for the highest level of thought and action reached could not humanly be maintained. The one novel of Tudor England that everyone knows, besides Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* is Harrison Ainsworth's *Tower of London*, and that is mainly concerned with rebellions and executions and what appears to be legalised torture; when we consider that even the hard men of the Middle Ages did not consider torture legal, this makes us pause. What also we find featured by the histories as well as by the novels of the period is the insistence on the Tower, for the Tower was London's fortress, and London, which by the end of the sixteenth century had close on 200,000 inhabitants, was by

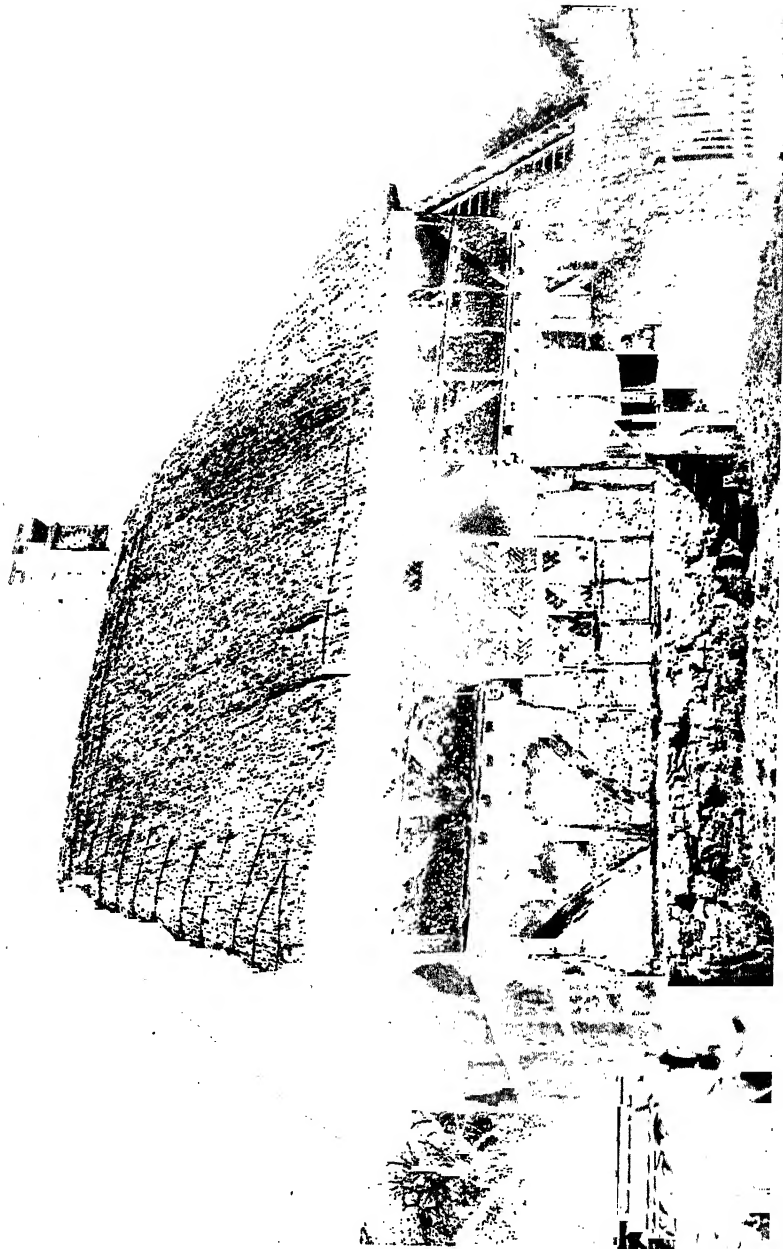
now unquestionably the capital of the country. There was now no chance of Winchester or York becoming the nation's capital city; who held the Tower held London, and who controlled London controlled England.

London became more and more the focal point of the kingdom, and as a developing port and the country's capital she drew to herself not only men from all quarters of the globe but their ideas as well. Great virtue is never very far distant from mean vice, and where there is no progress, enthusiasm quickly wanes. It is impossible *continuously* to provide the best, and the later years of the Tudor period are no exception to the rule. In literature the common jest was exalted at the expense of rare poetry; piracy and exploitation succeeded the spirit of high adventure; inquisitiveness genuine criticism, in political as well as in religious affairs; arbitrary control took the place of leadership. The standard set in the days of the Armada could not be maintained once all danger from Spain and the Papacy passed, and man had seen enough of the best to resent the offer of a second-rate article. Elizabethan man had something of the fanatic about him, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century his fanaticism took a new form. From a statesman he became a courtier, and from a reformer an iconoclast.



BEELEIGH ABBEY

"Men began to make themselves homes" (p. 193.)



THE OLD SHOP, BIGNOR
"The cottages of the lesser folk" (p. 203.)

CHAPTER IX

THE PURITAN LEGACY

“Who
Could by industrious valour climb
To ruin the great work of Time, ¶
And cast the Kingdoms old
Into another mould.”

ANDREW MARVELL: *Horatian Ode*.

“Whatever may be our behaviour and opinions as private individuals, we are still publicly and as a people puritan.”

—THE LATE EARL BALDWIN OF BEWDLEY.

THE LAST chapter began with a suggestion that the Tudors and the Tudor period make an overwhelming appeal to the modern Englishman; possibly because he feels himself so far distant from their day. It is a long step from the beginning of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century; in the meantime, something must have happened to the Englishman's mind to produce this feeling that in contemplating the Tudor period he is influenced by a sense of its unreality. Casually summarised, what has happened to him is this: late in the sixteenth century he began to cultivate the sense of inquisitiveness which had risen in him during the later Middle Ages and the early days of the Tudor dynasty. He stopped being self-critical, as the Catholic Church had tried to teach him to be, and devoted his critical powers to attacking his neighbour, which, since a growing complexity of life was developing and the isolation in which he had previously lived had been destroyed, he was in an excellent position to do. He criticised his monarchy, the upper levels of society, his Church, and his national mode of existence. While the objects of his criticism gave him something to complain about, he became much too violent. Also, to the representative of the first national dynasty since the death of Harold at Hastings, that of the Tudors, succeeded an alien Scot; suspicion was

inevitable, and suspicion was justified. The Puritan element in England comes to the surface.

Puritanism is undefinable. Here I intend to treat of it and its legacy by giving it what I consider to be its widest meaning; not confining the term to a mere sect holding particular religious views, but considering it as an element in England which has produced the average present-day Englishman. Writers such as A. G. Macdonell and Felix de Grand'comb have emphasised the Englishman's essential characteristics; my contention is that they are to be derived from the Puritan tendencies which reached their fullest expression in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and made possible the development of the nineteenth. Puritanism, broadly speaking, can be equated with the civilisation of the English Middle Class.¹

Puritanism rises and triumphs as England releases herself from the catholicity of mediævalism and emerges into the individualism of nationality. The growth of trade and the appearance of a numerically strong class of merchants is a feature of the later Middle Ages, but their logical development was handicapped by the restrictions of a social system which exalted the baron who derived his income from land and from feudal rights against the interests of men who worked for their living. This merchant class, an 'upper middle' class rather than a yeoman or 'lower middle' class, desired freedom—freedom to trade as and where it would, freedom to hire the labour necessary for commercial success, freedom to determine the country's policy—without interference arising from royal or baronial privileges and monopolies. The current social scheme, with its emphasis on privilege and status, crystallised its conceptions in the Catholic Church. In this fact lies one of the foremost reasons for the Reformation of the Church in Tudor times: the Church was the first goal of attack when the rising middle class made its onslaught on mediævalism. Broadly speaking, the Church possessed too much of the best land in England, land which the English wool-grower and merchant needed; secondly, the Church taught that man should order his life not according to his

¹ I am indebted to Mr. A. J. W. Hill for this last conception, and for the form in which much of what follows is expressed.

personal philosophy—an essential for the prosecution of successful commercial undertakings—but in accordance with the opinions and instructions of his priest.

But this new middle class could not break the power of the Church without the leadership and co-operation of the monarchy. In the process, and after the danger from the Counter-Reformation, from Catholic Spain, was past,¹ a monarchy now over-powerful and deprived of the sympathy of the people came into conflict therewith. To replace the mediæval kingdom the modern state had to be created, in which the servants of the state should be the nation's and not the monarchy's, and in the organisation of which room had to be found for a national administrative staff, a judiciary which could enforce the contracts on which business depended, and a professional army to safeguard commercial interests. The creation of the new nation-state could not be left to the monarchy, for if it were its basis might have been that of private rather than of public interest.

Social and economic conceptions had altered since the Middle Ages, though their implications remained somewhat submerged in Tudor times beneath the sea of religious and geographical novelties. New conceptions demanded a new creed, based on the twin principles of individualism and democracy; that creed was Puritanism. Like all creeds it found room among its members for extremists and moderates; the extremists, owing to the fact that the conflict between people and monarchy became civil war and because it required fanaticism to combat despotism, first attained prominence. Their legacy was the idea of republicanism; but extremists rarely leave a permanent impression, and to them succeeded the moderates, whose legacy was limited monarchy and the English Constitution.

Puritanism then was both a religion and a political theory. The earlier part of the chapter will deal with the extremists, whose influence was confined to a short period; the bulk of it will be devoted to the triumph of the moderates.

The English Puritan, as was said above, is not a novelty who appears first after Elizabeth was dead. The character of the religious Reformation at home and abroad was such

¹ See pp. 186-9.

that the extremist made an early appearance; Calvin himself, with his doctrine that men and women were predestinate, assured of eternal salvation or damnation before birth, was not without influence on English thought. Calvin's theory of predestination produced some curious results. Salvation could not be assured by the living of a moral life; such a life was simply a sign that a man who so conducted his affairs was saved. This is the complete negation of the Catholic doctrine that forgiveness of sins could be secured by penitence, and by absolution at the hands of a priest; unexceptionable goodness of life was necessary to the Calvinist, and nothing but his own strength and virtue was needed to acquire it. Thus the extreme Puritan was conscious of his own righteousness and determined to impose ethical and moral standards equal to his own on his neighbour.

This was a creed exactly suited to the needs of the times. Self-confidence and a determination not to be merely one of a crowd were virtues necessary to any man of affairs. Secondly, it exalted business as an all-sufficing goal, and one which demanded the use of every working and leisure hour; it contained as one of its principal articles a stern devotion to duty on the part of its adherent and his household. In such a creed there was little room or time for the construction of works of art—a fact which will be amply justified by the small amount of space required here to deal with the architectural legacy of this period. Strict attention to business was the chief characteristic of one who thought of himself as a 'man of God'; the age became one of the vigorous prosecution of business affairs, later to develop into large-scale industrialism. The second leading characteristic was the desire to force all others to practise the same degree of self-denial and sobriety which the elect, the chosen of God, had themselves achieved and unswervingly maintained. The ideas are not yet defunct: the licensing laws and bathing regulations of England demonstrate the fact, and the illogical official attitude displayed towards the bookmaker and betting.

Since initial activity was directed against the Church, there appeared very early a party which would have swept away everything beyond the utmost simplicity in English religion; not only did it urge the abolition of bishops and of the service

of Holy Communion, but it would have had the parish church practically indistinguishable from the average barn, and the minister, if such an official were permitted, unconsecrated. In the absence of a universal Church controlling all Christian lands, men not unnaturally split up into divers argumentative sects, but, perhaps because of this inability to agree upon fundamentals, England was spared the horrors of a civil war inspired by religious fanaticism such as tore asunder the countries of Europe. Despite the burnings and brandings of Tudor days, despite the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics and the restrictions against Nonconformists by the decrees of the Church of England, the religious differences of the seventeenth century left behind them little bitterness as a permanent memory. The Puritan element in England certainly assisted in the task of circumscription of the power of the monarchy; triumphant iconoclasts of Cromwell's day robbed us of much mediæval glass and sculpture in their destruction of cathedral and church fittings; but England has no permanent legacy of religious strife.

But in a way the English Puritan produced the English Sunday. An extreme element in the community temporarily got rid of sports and games, permanently weakened the powers of survival of characteristic mediæval pursuits such as bull-baiting and folk-dancing, and, from a misinterpretation of the Scriptures and an inherent gloomy conception of man's tendencies and destiny, attempted to ensure that there should be one day in the week when human beings might do little except breathe, feed, and attend a place of common worship. A Victorian revival of Puritanism, in its reaction from more liberal Georgian days, made the English Sunday a day on which to put on one's best clothes in order to be sad and one on which, so far as is possible, man should have no opportunity for recreation outside his own or his neighbour's home. The Sunday appearance of the average English small town or village must still be calculated to make the unprepared stranger feel that the district is awaiting the arrival of a peculiarly tragic funeral procession.

It was largely English Puritanism which succeeded in limiting the power of the Crown. The history of the constitutional struggle, which begins with the Tudors, fixes itself

in the memory with the execution of Charles I, and more or less ends with the Act of Settlement and the Bill of Rights, is a long and involved one. The battle was inevitable, and its date mainly an accidental one; its legacies equally inevitable and to a certain extent accidental. In the process the Englishman became freed from the fear of arbitrary taxation, from legal decrees inspired by judges who knew no controller but the King whose interests and not those of the commonweal they served, from the enforcement of a system of religion out of keeping with the sympathies of the majority, from the introduction of a royal line whose descent would have involved the country in European affairs not at all its concern.

For the details a text-book dealing with the period should be consulted. Trouble began when Elizabeth lived on after the defeat of the Armada. For long the attention of Englishmen had been turned away from their own country; when the dangers from Spain and from the possible succession of Mary Queen of Scots had passed; when England was ruled by a monarch and by ministers who were old and tired; when the middle class grew rich as the Crown grew poor, men began to criticise the form of government, political and ecclesiastical, under which they lived. As early as 1593 a Member of Parliament could cry: 'From the tyranny of the clergy, good Lord, deliver us,' and in 1601 the Londoners: 'God send the Queen's Prerogative touch not our liberty.' Any threat of the return to power of Roman Catholicism, or of the exercise of extreme royal power save in an emergency, and protest would no longer be confined to words. The first two Stuarts and their advisers made inevitable first protest, then attack, and finally war. But there was no unity of opinion to guide England, and the governmental experiments following the defeat of the King's armies in the field and his execution failed because the support they received was so strictly limited. The monarchy, if not full monarchical power, was restored, and had Charles II in his later years been more energetic, or James II more wise, there might have resulted a second Stuart despotism. Fear of a restoration of Roman Catholicism did much to wreck the schemes of James II; but not the avowed championship by Monmouth, Charles's bastard son, of the Protestant religion, could prevail against the support of

moderate Puritanism for the legitimate monarchy. Not till a Roman Catholic succession to the throne, on the birth of James's son, seemed assured, did his country rise against him. Its inhabitants desired as their King the only man who could check the schemes of His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XIV of France, but though in William of Orange they welcomed the Stuart, the Protestant, and the general, they none the less forced him to bind his successors by oath against engineering a repetition of the troubles of the seventeenth century.

England ultimately achieved the spirit of toleration, but it was not a Puritan legacy. The work of the men who criticised Elizabeth, argued with James, fought Charles, and elevated a Huntingdonshire squire to virtual kingship, exerted its full influence in the time of William of Orange and his successor, Anne. The majesty and sanctity of monarchy had been grossly diminished. The King was conceived of as someone to be respected and as the head of the State, but no longer would he be regarded by all men as the Lord's anointed and a man who could do no wrong. The growth of party government prevented the formation of a Royalist clique; the Mutiny Act made impossible the existence of a large trained standing Army ready to act on the King's command; the Triennial Act ensured that no Parliament should have a life sufficiently long to become, as a result of bribery, the royal tool. The new Coronation Oath which every monarch must take bound him 'to govern . . . according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the respective laws and customs of the same,' and the succession to the throne was limited to Protestants and the children of Protestants. As the nation's king became the Parliament's king, so the King's Church became the Parliament's Church. The House of Lords, composed of men who were the possessors of broad estates rather than great wealth, and having lost the power to initiate or amend Bills dealing with financial matters, had no claim whatever to be classed as any longer among the leaders of the nation.

We have reached modern times. We are within measurable distance of the Cabinet system and of the idea of ministerial responsibility to Parliament. Puritan England set out to control a monarch, and gained control of a nation and an Empire.

What has been said above will suggest that it is not our eyes which will disclose to us the Puritan legacy, particularly in England. The historian of romance, if such a creature can exist, is when he parts from the Tudors faced with a difficulty. He has nothing comparable to Stonehenge or the interior of York Minster or the survival of heraldry to discuss; he is forced to deal with ideas rather than facts and with modern immaturities rather than anachronisms. He cannot, for example, point to the United States of America and say: 'Their origin is in the growth of English Puritanism,' or that an age of common sense succeeded an age of romance, or that an United Kingdom took the place of international conflict.

But Scotland gave us the first post-Tudor king, James I, and it is difficult to continue a habit of war between two countries who share a single monarch. The Scots Reformation of the Church was more swift and more whole-hearted than its English counterpart, and an alliance between two countries attracted by a common antipathy to Roman Catholicism was inevitable, despite the fact that Scotland in every way stood further from Rome than did England in the early years of the seventeenth century. It was the Civil War which first offered a real opportunity of union on the basis of comparatively similar religious ideas, impermanent because there was in Scotland a section which could not forget that the House of Stuart was Scots and because the religious ideas of the two countries were insufficiently homogeneous. Stern persecution of the Scots 'Covenanters' in the reigns of Charles II and James II made harmony impossible until England had freed herself of her own Roman Catholic menace; full union could not come until, unpopular though the scheme was, the advantages of union under a Protestant dynasty outweighed the prejudices against it. If the Act of Settlement and the Bill of Rights are a Puritan legacy to England, then so is the Act of Union between Scotland and England of 1707.

Ireland was a different matter; there could be no hope of union, for it had long been an English conquest, but only of adequate control. Ireland, so far as religious tendencies were concerned, was unreformed, and a rallying-point of Roman Catholicism upon the English flank. It had revolted against English government in Tudor times, it had sent its sons to

fight for a Stuart against Presbyterian Parliamentarians, it had massacred the English and Scots settlers 'planted' in Ulster and elsewhere to reduce Irish influence and power. Under the leadership of Cromwell the Ulster massacres were avenged with a ferocity which surpassed any other Christian conquest of a heathen and savage country; even so, on the disappearance of James II from the English throne, this menace upon the flank of Protestantism remained. James's successor, in pursuance of his scheme of resistance to the aims of Louis XIV, fell like Cromwell upon Ireland in a passion for a new conquest. In his military aims he succeeded, and again filled Ireland with foreigners; logically there should have resulted union between the two countries once the power of the native Irish was broken, but it was not to be. Bitter memories of Anglo-Norman, Cromwellian, and Orange conquests kept the Irish averse from any kind of intercourse with England; economic jealousy inspired by the London merchants made the English of the Island as bitter against the government of Westminster as were their religious opponents.

A legacy of the period, if not necessarily a Puritan one, was the foundation of the British Empire. Gibraltar gave us a Mediterranean base; Bombay, Calcutta and Madras a movement towards the establishment of an Indian Empire; Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Hudson's Bay a footing in Canada; the principal West Indian islands became dependencies. All this, however, was not the result of policy on the part of the State, but rather of private enterprise. Much of the trouble England subsequently experienced with her 'colonies' is due to the fact that the State played little part in creating and populating them. The merchants who financed the early exploitation of new lands demanded a profit; its acquisition was often their only idea. They wanted their profit quickly, and to ensure it peopled the new lands with those whose demands, *ex hypothesi*, must be few; those who by contravention of the civic or religious laws needed a new home where their misdeeds might be forgotten.

Some of the North American colonies were developed on the same principle—Virginia, for example; though Virginia quite early became not the territory of a Chartered Company but a Crown Colony. But the 'Pilgrim Fathers' who in 1620 landed

on Cape Cod and founded New Plymouth sought the American Continent as a place where they would be secure from persecution on account of their religion, and because Leyden in Holland offered them only an alien exile and no hope of commercial prosperity. Emigration, either in search of religious liberty or to people new lands, followed fairly rapidly; by 1713 there were 50,000 Englishmen in the West Indies and 350,000 between Newfoundland and Barbados, varying from Penn's Quakers and the settlers who occupied the lands round New York on their capture from the Dutch, to the criminal or kidnapped unfortunates who helped to work the tobacco plantations of Virginia. Independence was the keynote of the majority of the first white Americans, and English governmental action, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, inadvertently fostered the manifestation of this spirit of independence and the loss of the central portion of England's Empire across the Atlantic.

Colonial expansion was a development well suited to the extreme Puritan view. Overseas possessions were acquired not with the idea of the foundation of an Empire, but chiefly from the desire of an increase in trade. The Calvinist character of the settlers and their backers produced the American business man and his modern English counterpart, devoted rather to his work than to the actual profits derived from it, convinced that upon him the stability of Society rests. Puritan conceptions forbade the spending of the profits derived from business. They went back into the business, and businesses grew bigger and bigger. The foundations of the Industrial Revolution, requiring a wealth of stored and available capital, were being laid.

Early Puritanism did its work so well that modern English male dress and short hair, as current throughout the whole western world, are a survival of the fashion which the Puritans adopted in contradistinction to the ostentatious and richly-coloured clothing and the flowing locks of their opponents in Church and State.¹ Business, and God's business, were both sober things, demanding sobriety in dress and of speech.

¹ It is curious how long hair, unconventional clothing, and bright ties are popularly associated with artists and other presumed rebels 'agin' the Government.'

Puritan thought is beautifully exemplified in Cromwell's order, during an irritating but inevitable delay while his horse could gather for the pursuit, to sing a psalm. It served to remind God that the singers were His servants; business considerations demanded that the psalm which consists of two verses only should be selected.

The wars between King and Parliament produced the British Army. In a time when private war was common, or one when the King could expect either personal or financial help from his tenants, the need for a standing army did not exist. War had been a matter for the feudal array, the adventurer, and the mercenary; in a time of civil war the fighting had to be done largely by amateurs. Cromwell, who visualised the necessity of defeating the King and his forces in the field, produced the 'New Model' Army, based to some extent on experience gained by others in the Thirty Years' War. Little change, prior to the war of 1639-45, was made in the initial organisation which provided for the division of the forces into regiments, themselves arranged by companies in the infantry, in troops in the cavalry. The chief terms of rank—colonel, major, captain, lieutenant, sergeant, corporal—have proceeded without alteration. Uniforms came later, for coloured scarves were the first method of distinguishing friend from foe. There was no standing army until after the Restoration, when one of Monk's regiments was offered permanent employment in the royal service; the Lothian Regiment, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, is the senior regiment of the British Army. As the extent of the Army increased, so regiments received numbers, and the original character of the Army List has only recently altered. As the system of heraldry to a certain extent went out of fashion (for soldiering became more and more a profession and not an occupation, and the professional captain usually did not possess the right to bear arms), for the nobleman's crested banners were substituted the flags which play their part in surviving ceremonies such as the Trooping of the Colour and the presentation of new standards. For each unit there were two Colours, the King's and the Regimental. These, smoke-dimmed and battle-scarred, with the engagements in which each regiment distinguished itself embroidered upon them, hang in the English cathedrals and churches as a memento

of an age when England was almost constantly engaged in wars abroad. The creation of the modern state, necessitating an army of executive officials, provided an outlet for the energies of the younger sons of the new upper middle class and of the new aristocracy. They provided the personnel necessary for the officers of the Army and of the Navy, they entered the Church and the legal professions, later they became the country's superior civil servants. The Universities became not merely seats of education, but training-schools for those who were obliged to acquire, not scholarship, but acquaintance with humanity, knowledge of the world, and *savoir-faire*.

The respective characters of the two senior Universities, though perhaps inadvertently, may be a Puritan legacy. The strength of Puritanism in London drove Charles I and his Court into residence at Oxford, which ever since has remained faintly metropolitan where Cambridge is unashamedly provincial. Oxford, on the road between the Wales from which the Tudors sprang and London, and at the gateway to the once rich and always reactionary West, connected by water with the capital city, has always lived in an atmosphere of cosmopolitan interests and political issues. Cambridge, planted in the cold flat East, a 'beleaguered city' cut off from civilisation by the Fens—the draining of which was not begun until the seventeenth century—has been rather thrown on her own resources. Setting aside the judgment that an Oxford man enters a railway carriage as if he owned the place and one from Cambridge as if he did not care a damn who did, the most casual visitor must be conscious of a difference between the rival Universities. The modern passion for equalisation is doing its best to suppress the individual characteristics of each, but there must be many who find in the product of Oxford that consciousness of effortless superiority attributed primarily to Balliol, a conviction of being born to rule, a passion for international affairs, an Etonian surprise at other people's haste or enthusiasm or earnestness. Cambridge products, on the other hand, are frequently less certain of personal success, more concerned with securing it at any private inconvenience, more greatly involved with things of the flesh than things of the spirit. An Oxford man is an Oxford man; a Cambridge man a member of —

College, Cambridge.¹ And perhaps it is all due to the fact that Oxford was for a time the seat of government, melted her plate for an outworn creed, and jeered the 'Roundheads' in the spirit in which she had burnt those vulgar purveyors of novelties Latimer and Ridley; while not many miles from Cambridge were born, educated, and disciplined Cromwell and the officers of the Eastern Association.

In his Dictionary Dr. Johnson defined a merchant as 'a new species of gentleman.' The Puritan element whose puritanism was principally directed to the acquisition of peace at home, well knowing that neither commerce nor industry can flourish when governments are unstable, rejoiced at the installation of a permanent Protestant succession. The Tudor trader, who by successful speculation or salesmanship acquired wealth, sunk his capital in a country estate to which, his fortune made, he retired. Though he might have been a man of affairs, his sons would be country gentlemen—Queen Elizabeth herself had been the great-granddaughter of a London merchant. But the Puritan trader remained a merchant, and became a politician rather than a courtier. In an age of bribery and corruption, when votes and parliamentary boroughs returning a Member to the House went to the highest bidder, the English merchants possessed virtual control of English political affairs. In the mediæval period we find the clerics and the lawyers influencing English politics; Elizabeth's ministers were drawn from the new English nobility such as the Cecils and the Burleighs, and the members of her Parliaments from the ranks of the country gentleman (the majority of the Stuarts' parliamentary opponents were, like Pym and Hampden, country squires), but the politicians of the eighteenth century were the rich merchants, themselves the children of merchants. The Chamberlains and the Baldwins are their legitimate heirs, the day of the Lloyd Georges and F. E. Smiths is not yet.

But, in the early days of the seventeenth century, the menace the merchants so feared, the possible restoration of the Stuarts, had not passed away. Tories were by Whigs suspect of negotiating for the return of the 'king over the water,' as Whigs were by Tories of alliance with Nonconformity to the decrees of the Church of England. The absolute necessity of freeing Non-

¹ Not, of course, original; first produced by Ian Hay.

conformists from the disabilities they had incurred after the Restoration and so ensuring their support gave the Whigs a supremacy which brought into English politics the influence of the terrible incorruptible Nonconformist conscience. The age of party government had begun, and continued after all chance of a second Stuart restoration had passed away.

As party government and party struggles succeeded government by the Crown and its ministers and a struggle between King and Parliament, so politics became divorced from the immediate entourage of the Crown. In the time of the later Stuarts, power in the State was obtained most easily by constant and obsequious attendance at the King's Court, for the only favours men thought worth having were in the gift of the King and of his immediate circle of intimates. After the Revolution, not only was the power of the King limited, but there succeeded in William III a man who had no use for the life of a Court as the Stuarts had known it. There were no offices to be obtained by attendance at Court, so men stayed away, and cultivated the acquaintance of the King's ministers instead. The Court ceased to be a kind of open club for men of birth or position; the King ceased to perform his more intimate and domestic actions in public. Attendance at Court became a thing of invitation and not of right; Court life and the public life of the monarch became a thing of greater privacy and dignity. In such an atmosphere politics could not flourish; political questions enjoyed a wider sphere of influence and of discussion. Money and not birth or estates had become power; political power would go to the men who could purchase most votes. Politicians became dependent on the support of the people and not on the favour of the King, and with the arrival of free election and uncontrolled voting unwillingness to offend the people from whom they derive ultimate power has had to be part of the attitude of every would-be successful politician. The Puritans who claimed to represent the nation in opposition to the King inaugurated a tradition which makes first election to Parliament at the hands of the people, secondly the confidence of those senior members who themselves owe their position to the people, and thirdly ability to avoid offending the people, the necessary equipment of any ambitious politician.

No one could call the modern Press a Puritan legacy, but a

plea for the freedom of the Press and of letters was made by one of the greatest of Puritans, John Milton. Puritans as such produced sermons and moral works the character of which can be imagined from titles such as *Alarm to the Unconverted* and *Spirit Cordial*; Milton himself, though he could write *L'Allegro*, is best remembered because at great length he wrote:

'Of Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree';

the same age produced the immortal *Pilgrim's Progress*, with its typically Puritan character, Christian, altogether self-reliant and independent. Though weekly newsletters were sent from London to the country as early as the reign of James I, the first daily newspaper did not appear until Queen Anne was on the throne. It mattered little to earlier ages if or when the mass of the people heard the news of the day; it mattered a great deal to the astute leaders of the eighteenth century that the public should know not only what had happened, but also what was likely to happen, in order that a skilful man might as a result of public comment range himself with the majority. The habit, which was increasing among all but the poorest classes, of learning to read, produced in great quantity the author and also commercial literature. Men began to use the writing of books as a means of earning a living, and elevated the successful author to a position in society which he has never lost.

The advancement of scientific knowledge one would hardly expect to find amid the Puritan programme, and, in the years succeeding the Tudors, the birth of modern science was rather the work of the individual man. One of the oddest sides of the anomalous Charles II is that he became a Fellow of the Royal Society, and the fact that such an institution could have been inspired during the days of the Civil War and of the Commonwealth is a hint of things to come. The support given to Sir Isaac Newton foreshadows the day when the commercial classes of England would finance the experiments which made the development of machinery and transport possible.

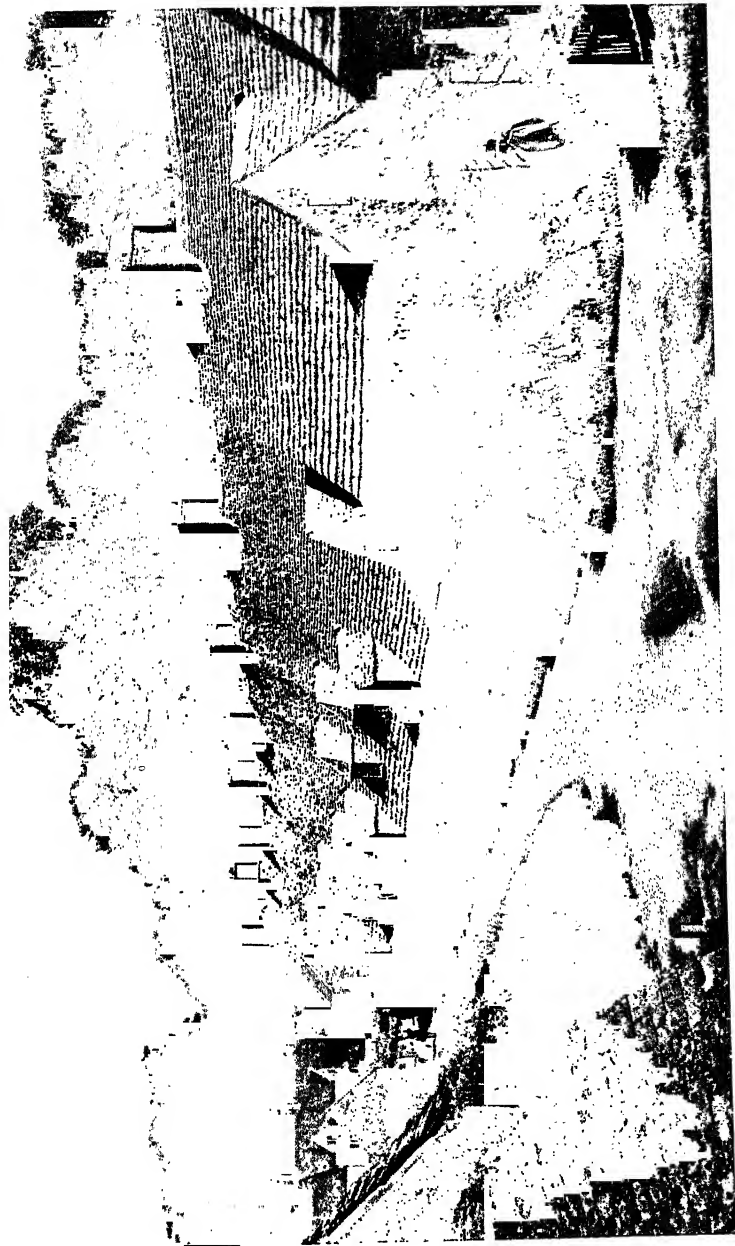
Puritan influence produced what was regarded as the most secure feature in an almost immovable England—the Bank of England. The class of merchants which the Tudor age permitted to develop so rapidly needed somewhere to store more

wealth, and in London the obvious place was London's fortress, the Tower. Charles I, in his need, confiscated the merchants' valuables, and the merchants, in their desire for a safer repository, found this in the strong-rooms of the City's goldsmiths. The goldsmiths found it profitable to lend a portion of the deposits at interest, so profitable that to encourage deposits they were themselves willing to pay interest thereon. To avoid frequent transport of gold they instituted the system whereby payment could be made on the presentation of an accredited note: the idea of the cheque had arrived. In the reign of William III governmental shortage of money resulted in the formation of the Bank of England for the purpose of raising a loan to the Government. Loans proved to a government a better way of raising money than ever taxation had been to a king; from the people being the government's milch cow they became its creditors. England had acquired a National Debt—a paltry £52 millions in 1713—but England had discovered how to finance herself.

The legacy of the Puritan era which I have conveniently assumed to stretch at least from the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century is, as I have said, hardly something which can be seen with the eyes. The character of the age, however, is to a certain extent displayed in its buildings, and its buildings are often a series of misfits.

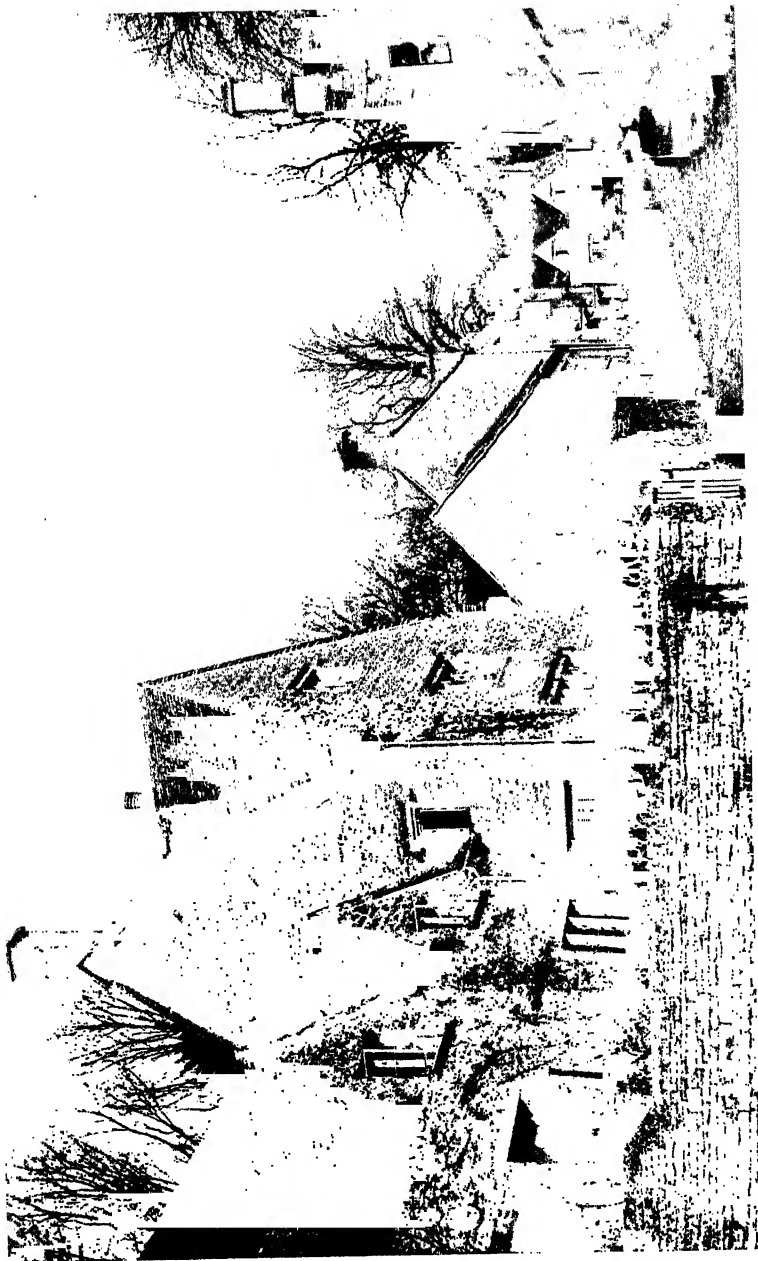
For this the Renaissance rather than the Reformation or the Revolution was responsible. The mediæval cathedral, never completed but always growing, was not the inspiration of one man, but the expression of the common desire for a thing of beauty. Invention followed sound teaching and long apprenticeship; in the seventeenth century imitation displaced invention. Workmen from overseas, imported in great numbers, assisted in the construction of English buildings, and what each contributed, excellent though it may have been as a work of art, did not necessarily harmonise with its neighbouring conception derived from a different source.

Even the movement towards the employment of architects failed to produce harmony. Their admiration was not for the mediæval cathedral, English or continental, but for everything which was Roman or Greek in its origin, and accordingly they slavishly followed the classical traditions and regulations.



GOTSWOLD COTTAGES, BIBURY

"The characteristic is . . . ripe mellowness, a quiet fullness which is not the mere result of the passing of time" (*p.* 194.)



BIBURY

“The English cottage made the English village no longer a thing of meanness” (p. 194.)

This in itself produced a worse thing than a stereotyped form; the impossibility of producing beauty thereby drove men to an extreme. They erected walls and covered the interior with a roof, inserted windows and doors where necessary, and styled the result a house. Even the buildings which by reason of their Italian inspiration we style Palladian are inclined to produce unhappy results, for what in the Italian sunshine and amid Mediterranean colour might prove effective is apt, under grey English skies and with a monotonous landscape for background, to suggest the Castle of Giant Despair, sombre and unwieldy. Even Blenheim Palace, mounted against the Oxfordshire countryside, conveys an impression of incongruity, as though a Brobdingnagian architect had been experimenting in Lilliput. Greenwich Hospital looks like one of those stone-faced rectangular provincial hotels with their porticoes under which a plough-team of eight oxen could stand; as for the Senate House at Cambridge, the only possible angle of vision is one which turns the beholder's back to King's College Chapel.

Architecture in England had indeed ceased to be an expression of the national character, and to reflect alien influence of a type which too often failed to suit its surroundings. The hall, incidentally, ceases to be the main feature of the house, and the tendency to move the bedrooms to a storey above the ground-floor develops. Servants were driven to sleep at an even greater elevation, and to live below ground-level in a basement.

But the English character rebelled against the over-large and extravagant mansion. Its expression is found at its best in many a cathedral close and city street, with the servants' quarters detached to a connected wing or with all living-rooms on the ground floor. Less fanciful and decorative than the Elizabethan house they may be, but these 'Queen Anne' houses (which do not necessarily date to her reign) have a charm and dignity all their own.

Furniture becomes lighter, and various woods are substituted for the heavy and characteristic English oak. Wallpaper, though of earlier origin, and often hand-painted, came into common use, with printed varieties, in the eighteenth century. Plumbing, if its development was still distant, had at least been visualised.

The passion for size which was manifested in the country houses and public buildings of the period found expression too in the churches. Despite Puritan tendencies, ornamentation did not altogether disappear, but the decorations, even Grinling Gibbons's carvings, usually look as if they had been applied as an afterthought and had nothing to do with the original design. Churches became box-like, galleried to hold the largest audience possible, and generously lighted from outside in such fashion that the result suggests that their sponsors felt that the officiating clergy had something to hide. Had Wren been allowed to rebuild the City of London after the Great Fire we might have had a capital worth visiting; as it is, we have to be content with St. Paul's and the City churches—what remains of them.

Italian influence surrounded the country houses, both old and new, with Italianate gardens; and the avenues and hedges of evergreen which decorate the estates of the period owe their form to the art of Dutch topiarists. For the first time since the days of the mediæval artists whose names have not survived, England produced a school of portraiture. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough (also a great landscape painter), and Romney are three artists who rank to-day as highly as they did in the eighteenth century. This same century gave us the English furniture-makers, Chippendale, Hepplewhite and Sheraton. With these and with the brothers Adam, whose work as architects and decorators is still visible, the era of individual craftsmanship practically closes, for the age of machinery and mass-production is about to begin. It is significant that Sheffield plate, in its solidity so beloved of the Victorians, is an eighteenth-century invention. And yet, though late in the century, England was the country where the most delicate pottery was produced. Worcester at its best will challenge comparison with Chinese porcelain or with Sèvres or Meissen.

The reasons for the poverty of the Puritan legacy in the realms of art or architecture have already been indicated (p. 216). With these must be coupled yet one more legacy from that initial onslaught on the Catholic Church which I have tried to stress. The Catholic Church fostered an idea of chastity, proclaiming the retired life of the monk or nun to be

the most virtuous of all. A revolution producing a business development demanded a much increased population; so the Puritan substituted for the ideal of chastity the ideal of a large, well-educated, and well-disciplined family. Here begins the conception of the English middle-class home and the sanctity of family life, which reached its most vital stage of development during the nineteenth century.

The ultimate outcome of the puritan triumph, as illustrated in the Bill of Rights and the Act of Succession, was modern political theory. Fear of a Roman Catholic Stuart restoration gave England, after the death of Anne, a Hanoverian dynasty which still occupies the throne; but the only monarchy England would accept was a limited monarchy with sovereignty resident not in the individual but in the Crown in Parliament. Hanoverian ignorance of the English tongue increased Parliament's powers; the growth of the population and the consequent extension of the franchise produced a House of Commons—what *Punch* later called a House of Awfully Commons—numerically so unwieldy that if the business of government was to be exercised with even limited efficiency its main functions had to be in the hands of a small but solid committee. The rise of party government, and the existence of two or at the most three political parties, ensured that the function of the majority of members should be confined to what Gilbert unkindly described as 'voting as their leaders tell 'em to.' Equally unkindly, the qualification for a seat in the Ministry has been described as avoidance of the Smoking Room and the wearing out of one's trousers in patient occupation of the Back Benches in the House, and of the soles of one's shoes in passing through the Division Lobbies. England, with her suspicion of eloquence, of rapid promotion, and of youth's enthusiasm, has determined that her destinies shall lie in the hands first of the Permanent Officials of the Civil Service and secondly of politicians so colourless and conformable to ancient tradition as to be above suspicion. Apart from the original flirtation with the idea of a Labour Government, she has only once entrusted the chief power in the State to a man who in many ways was the absolute antithesis of everything she regards with most reverence and who failed to fulfil her primary requisites of reticence and subservience to her national

shibboleths. On that occasion she awoke from her moment of temporary insanity to discover that, after all, she was hardly a land fit for heroes to live in.

Triumphant Puritanism, strengthened by the ideals of the nineteenth century, and consolidated by the reign for over half a hundred years of one who in every respect was the apotheosis of militant Puritanism, survived even the War of 1914-18, the Treaty of Versailles, and the moral, social and economic revolution which followed them. During the abdication crisis of 1936, it attained a height which in all probability it will never scale again. It succeeded in enlisting under its banner all the forces of hypocrisy which three hundred years ago drove men, extremists, maybe, to pray into their hats and

‘Compound for sins they were inclined to
By damning those they had no mind to.’

In the spirit which urged its chosen representatives to prosecute the Salem witch hunts and to chastise the sin of adultery in oblivion of the words of Christ which it pretended to read daily, it abhorred in the individual what it tolerated in society. It claimed that public opinion was expressed by the mouths of half a dozen men and that what they decided the Parliament from which they were drawn and its brother Assemblies of the Empire beyond the seas must support, and that to hear the opinion of Parliament was as unnecessary as if the majority of the Chamber had been occupied by stuffed owls. Finally, execution being less popular a spectacle than it was in 1649, it drove into exile, voluntary in all but fact, a public servant who had enlisted from his people a sentimental but hard-bought adulation unparalleled even on the part of its enemies the adherents of the Young Pretender. The whole business was a colossal blunder, and like most English political blunders, well received at the time by a populace whose sense of orderliness, of the duty of the monarchy, and of convention, especially the sanctity of the family, had long ago been determined for it.¹

¹ This was written December, 1936. After some months' reflection we may appreciate the necessity for the deed, while still deploring the methods used to ensure it. In 1947, though no Octavian, I still find myself unable to modify the above view.

CHAPTER X

THE LEGACY OF THE INVENTORS

“Transportation is Civilisation.”

RUDYARD KIPLING: *As Easy as ABC*.

HALF-PAST one in the afternoon, April 16th, 1746. On Culloden Moor Cumberland's batteries have just fired the first shots at Prince Charles Edward and his Highlanders; perhaps, in a kitchen in Greenock, the ten-year-old James Watt gazes at the kettle on the hob and into his young brain comes the dawn of an idea. While in the waste places of the earth the man in whose veins runs the blood of Ælfred the Great, of William the Conqueror, of Henry Tudor, watches a charge by an anachronistic rabble, claymore in hand, in the same country, almost in sight of the shipyards of the Clyde, the heir of generations of labourers visualises, for all we know, the railway which eighty years later was to be an accomplished fact. Though neither Prince Charlie nor James Watt knows it, this is the last day of the gentleman whose sole claim to a position in society is that of birth; to-morrow is with a class he has ever scorned.

Such a meeting of the Past and the Present must surely make us pause. On Culloden Moor there fails the last attempt of the Celt to regain his lost land of Britain; something of romance dies there too; and more of mediæval England. Imagine an England in which James VIII has been restored to the throne of his ancestors by the aid of the half-savage Highland clans—is it conceivable that the industrial development of the century which follows Culloden would not have been delayed? But Cumberland's victory planted the tolerant Hanoverians yet more firmly on the throne of England, and safe from foreign alarm and from Legitimist enthusiasm the country settled itself to the task of making money and turning much of a green and pleasant land into a very fair imitation of the residue of a chemical experiment.

A hundred years from Culloden takes us to the general adoption of the narrow gauge for railways, and that century includes the rise of the factory, the invention of almost all industrial machinery, the coming of canals, modern roads, and railways, the break-up of the open fields, the improvement in the size and character of livestock, the introduction of the census, the reform of the electoral system, and the foundation of the first Co-operative Wholesale Society. Here is something new; in a way it is all part of our inheritance, but we can hardly say that these legacies have reached maturity. We know fairly accurately the best and the worst which we have derived from Anglo-Saxon political thought or from the Reformation of the Church, but the ultimate outcome of a world created by and for the scientist rather than the warrior and the cleric is still obscure.

Before ever Culloden was fought there had been heralded the Coming of the Machines. Kay's 'Flying Shuttle' was introduced to the world in 1733, and the roll of names which includes those of Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton, and of James Watt and George Stephenson as well, had been headed. Fourteen years before Kay's time, the first factory had been opened. The English labouring classes were beginning their great move from the country to the town, for the work of the inventors was to make it impossible for them to continue to manufacture in their own homes. The new machines were of no use to the single family, they required power to drive them; and so the profit to be derived from them was obtainable only by erecting them in batches in factories, and concentrating therein a large population of workers drawn from a wide area. Factories soon alone provided employment, for few could secure work of a character which could be performed at home. So a people whose life for centuries had been a thing of the village was compelled to migrate to the town. But the manufacturing town as we know it did not exist, and had to be created. To appreciate this fact we have to look forward, to visualise a day when England's prime industries were not the wool and cloth trades alone, to whose interests the earliest machines were devoted, but when engineering, dependent on the collieries and on the iron and steel works, was of supreme importance. The provincial cities

which had been the centres of early English industrial life had been dependent for their prosperity on their geographical situation relative to a supply of raw wool; they were the foci of pastoral areas. The new English industries had to concentrate themselves where there was power. After the introduction of steam this meant they had to be within easy distance of the collieries, and so the most thickly populated parts of England ceased to be East Anglia, the southern counties, and the south and south-west midlands; the southern plains on both sides of the Pennines, Tyneside and Teesside, the central midlands, took their place. The accident of neighbouring sheep pastures coupled with the proximity of coal and water power made the West Riding the chief instead of merely one of the headquarters of the woollen industry. The climate of Lancashire and the presence of the swift Pennine streams had early made that county the home of the growing cotton industry, with a natural port in Liverpool. The enormous growth of English manufactures, with a brand-new Empire over-seas as well as the Continent of Europe to absorb her goods, not only vitalised our shipbuilding industry but made the older ports, Bristol, Hull, Southampton, of far more importance than the ancient inland cities such as York and Norwich. But when the growth of English industry began there were no towns ready-made for the people to move into: Leeds in 1750 had a mere 15,000 inhabitants, about the population to-day of Warwick or of Beverley.

The new towns, as we can see to-day as we travel through them, or still better by means of photographs taken from aeroplanes, were built on one principle only, that which proclaims that the smaller the overhead expense, the larger the profit. Since to live people must have employment, and since for the majority employment was certain only in the towns, housing problems could be dealt with by the simplest of solutions, that of concentrating the maximum number of inhabitants into the smallest possible space. The manufacturers of the Industrial Revolution hated the sight of a blade of grass; to them the only beauty was a countryside where every available inch was occupied by factories and houses. It was not supposed that men and women required more than a place in which to sleep and one in which to work;

therefore let the houses of the workers surround the factories and the houses themselves back on to each other with just sufficient passage-way for the inhabitants. The space occupied by the noble churches and halls of an earlier age was in their eyes waste. No profits could be derived from a well-proportioned market square or a municipal park; such territory could better be used by factories and houses. The result of such a theory is painfully apparent to anyone who visits our industrial areas to-day. It looks bad enough where a town is reasonably prosperous; in cases such as Jarrow or the Rhondda valley, in their day as derelict areas, it is like a gigantic fungus, unlovely in life, disgusting in decay.

We have got rid of much of the misery and cruelty and danger of the early factory system. We are still very far from getting rid of the ugliness caused by the rise of English commerce and industry. How hard it is to remove can be seen by anyone who knew Leeds in the early years of this century and who has watched the city's difficulties in respacing the central portion of the town. Doubtless we are far in advance of the men who allowed Bolton and Huddersfield, West Bromwich and Gateshead, to foul the English scene. Still, improvements on Wolverhampton or Bermondsey though they may be, no one could legitimately call Scunthorpe or Dagenham beautiful.

The urban aspect of England changed rapidly, but the rural scene had for long been altering, and in the eighteenth century in particular took on a character which never left it until the petrol pump and the road house, the pylon and the advertisement hoarding, disfigured the landscape. Early England was based upon the village, surrounded by its open fields, in which all had a share, of which none owned, as we recognise ownership to-day, any particular portion. The system of farming and of cultivating the village lands which we know as the Manorial System had been decaying since the fourteenth century, partly because of the movement towards economic freedom on the part of the agricultural labourer, partly because after the Black Death the manorial lord could not secure sufficient labour to cultivate his estates, partly because wages succeeded services. Men found it impossible to derive a satisfactory profit from the old system; it was better

to lease a part of their land to the tenant-farmer and leave him to cultivate his farm by hired labour and to make his profit or loss. It was better, too, in the days when wool was the staple English industry, to turn arable land into pasture, and to raise sheep instead of crops. Such a system implied visible delimitation of the land. The old village boundaries, when the village had been the unit, had been the ancient track, the hillcrest earthwork, the stream, or the edge of the forest. But each one of a number of farmers owning a proportion of the village fields must have his boundaries clearly defined, not only in law, but physically also, that his neighbours' stock might not trample or devour his crops and that his own should not wander beyond reclamation. To these facts, to this Enclosure Movement which persisted for centuries, we owe the aspect of the English fields to-day, hedge-bordered and wire-fenced, gated and broken by a multitude of mired lanes giving passage to the cattle and access to the hill pastures.

To the same period we owe the character of the English sheep and cattle, and to a lesser extent that of the English horse as well. The mediæval and pre-mediæval sheep or cow was a miserable little beast, difficult to keep alive during the winter because the necessity of scientific feeding was unknown, and reproducing a low average of quality because the open-field system made scientific breeding impossible; the degenerate and the weakling sired and bore the new generations, for they mated beyond the bounds of human control. But in the eighteenth century the experiments and example of men like Robert Bakewell were welcomed; England, as a result of judicious selection of parentage and character, began to produce breeds of sheep and cattle which gave more meat and survived a winter's rigours, sheep which bore more wool and horses eminently suitable for drawing the loads the Industrial Revolution had added to their burden.

But the work of the inventors could come to little until England developed her system of transport. The history of the English road, between the time of the Romans and the nineteenth century, is a history of neglect and decay. Little was done to preserve the Roman surfaces, and few new roads were planned; the roads, except in the driest of weather, became broken and muddy and dangerous to the traffic they

threatened to engulf. If the movements and the rate of movement of the mediæval army surprise us, we have to remember that the rate of march of an army with its waggons was unbelievably slow, and that transporting a force of any size across a bridge or over a ford was a matter of hours and not of minutes. Legislation concerning the roads is rare in mediæval times; the best-known specimen is Edward I's ordinance that from both sides of the highway the brushwood should be cleared and robbers thus deprived of their place of ambush. The horse was still the only means of goods and passenger transport by road. Queen Elizabeth, after her first journey by coach, flatly refused to repeat such an uncomfortable method of progress. In 1727 George II spent a whole night in travelling the seven miles from Kew to St. James's Palace: it is said that no coach could get nearer to Liverpool than Warrington, owing to the state of the roads. As late as 1640 it took three days to journey by wheeled transport from London to Dover, and in 1751 the journey from London to Exeter took four days; the effort of reaching Oxford from London in a single day was in 1669 considered remarkable. Six years previously the first Turnpike Act had been passed, with the idea of making users of the roads contribute to their upkeep by paying tolls for the right of passage. To this system we owe the numerous tracks within easy distance of the old main roads; drovers of cattle and sheep, unwilling to pay the tolls, made their own paths on the hillside, and the impress of their charges' feet has remained. As I write this in December, 1936, there are still sixty-six bridges to cross which a toll has to be paid, and fifty-seven roads subject to toll, three of these being in the London area.

Though the great years of English roadmaking are properly the last half of the eighteenth century, the chief era of the stage and the mail coaches is of an even later date. It must be remembered that railway succeeded coach transport quite soon after the latter had attained its zenith, and that the period made so familiar to us by Dickens was really only a short one. It could not have developed as it did without the English roadmakers, 'Blind Jack' Metcalf of Knaresborough, Macadam the descendant of Highland freebooters, whose method of road-surfacing enriched the English language by a new word,

and the engineer Telford, who planned many of the new roads originating with this period. On what a scale English road traffic once was can be imagined from the fact that the village of Hounslow provided stabling accommodation for 2,500 horses. In an age when England was inadequately policed, such slow and cumbersome transport was the thief's opportunity. Few of the classic highwaymen engage our sympathy, for they were mostly blackguards and cowards rather than creatures of romance, but few rural districts are without their legends and memories of a local or national 'gentleman of the road' who stopped the coaches and chaises and robbed the traveller of his belongings.

So great a volume of traffic gave great importance to the village and provincial city inns. Under such a system, with its mail coaches and passenger coaches, its private and public chaises, it was necessary for every village inn to provide some kind of accommodation in the way of board, lodging, and stabling, for accidents were so frequent, delays so likely, and the day's journey so short that none could in the morning say with certainty where he would sleep that night. In these days we are apt to consider a temporary cessation of railway traffic as something of an event, but there is a good deal of difference in the power of a locomotive and of a team of horses to cope with the effect of bad weather. Floods, in those days of badly-drained roads, must have been more frequent than they are now; cold, snow and tempest of more effect than is recognised by the habitual traveller by train. The inn was the traveller's haven of refuge, ranged round its courtyard into which vehicles drove right up to its very door. Many of the old coaching inns have suffered considerable change, but the *New Inn* at Gloucester, the *George* at Winchester, and the *George* at Huntingdon, particularly the first-named, still give a good idea of the nineteenth-century coaching inn.

With the making of the new and the improvement of the old roads, communication increased between town and town and between town and country. A further introduction into the scheme of communication was the construction of canals. Canal transport, if slow, had one great merit, that there were no tolls to pay such as were incumbent on users of the roads. The first canal, that designed by Brindley to connect the Duke

of Bridgwater's coal pits at Worsley with Manchester, was projected in 1759; in the next eighty years many hundreds of miles of waterways were constructed. They remained a general method of transport until, where time was of the essence of the contract, they were superseded by the railways, though the canal considerably antedates the railway, for the first line, that between Stockton and Darlington, was not opened until 1825. The canals proved useful not only for the transport of goods from place to place (it was easier, on its discovery, to despatch the kaolin of Cornwall to Staffordshire than to move the skilled workmen of the Potteries to the source of the raw material), but also as a means of sending the produce of the country—potatoes, for example—to an ever-increasing urban population, and labour itself could travel by the same means to a district in need of fresh hands. How complete the English canal system was made and still remains is easily appreciated by a journey through England which avoids the mountain districts, and even so, it is illuminating to study what considerable gradients can be surmounted by means of locks. It is, however, true that here and there we may come upon canals no longer used by cargo boats—the Kennet and Avon Canal, for example—and then consider the reasons governing the absence of traffic. The first steamer to be seen in British waters started its career in 1801, and the effect of the provision of coastal steamers was similarly to take away traffic from the canals. We might, however, at the same time remember that a canal could be constructed to take steamers as well as horse-drawn barges; for example, the Manchester Ship Canal, which avoids much expensive and laborious unloading at Liverpool of goods destined for Manchester. The Caledonian Canal, joining the western coast of Scotland and Inverness, to reach the sea within a few miles of Culloden, was indeed begun just over half a century after that battle was fought.

By the end of the century, England had approximately 20,000 miles of railroad. The railways superseded the roads as completely as they had done the canals. A Wiltshire turnpike, which in 1841 produced a revenue of £1,992, the next year returned only £654; in 1839, 94 coaches passed through St. Albans in the day; the following year there were four only. Innkeepers were ruined by the new form of transport,

and shopkeepers in towns such as Ashton-under-Lyne and Stockport complained bitterly that nearly all their customers took advantage of the new facilities to do their shopping in Manchester. The roads of England ceased to serve as highways; they temporarily relapsed into providing the purely local functions that had characterised them in the Middle Ages.

The railways altered the whole character of England. Between 1831 (when the stage coach and the canal were supreme) and 1931, the population of Great Britain increased from 16 to 45 millions—93 per cent. of whom now live in the towns. This great increase and concentration of population could not have taken place but for the railways, which transported perishable foodstuffs at high speed to the centres of population. Cheshire farmers who had concentrated on producing cheese for local markets now sent the raw milk to Liverpool; fresh fish, hardly ever seen there before, was sold in Birmingham. Cattle from Norfolk, which had previously spent a fortnight on the road, losing not only weight but three guineas per beast in value, were sent to London in the day. The market women of Barnard Castle in Durham suddenly found one Wednesday that they could obtain an advance of 2d. per lb. in the price of their butter: a dealer from London had arrived who was prepared to purchase 2,000 lbs. of the commodity and re-sell it in London on the Friday. In many other ways, the new form of transport was breaking down the isolation of the provinces. No longer was the visit of the pedlar awaited with impatience by villages who depended on him for news of the outside world. It is the railway which has made the daily paper possible, and which is the indispensable foundation of our postal service.

Railway transport remained supreme until the internal combustion engine arrived at its full development. For its exploitation Britain already had a magnificent system of roads; mass-production and increased individual purchasing power quickly cheapened the cost of motor vehicles. Railway revenues suffered, but a new industry had been brought into being. Goods (and passengers) could now be delivered almost from door to door and not merely from and to stations

which might be some way distant from the terminals of the journey. (Many landowners had succeeded in keeping railway stations well distant from the towns they were supposed to serve; in an attempt to preserve their undisturbed isolation from the masses.) There were roads suitable or potentially suitable for mechanical transport where railways, on account of the expense of tunnelling, bridging, and draining, could never be made. Railways had indeed inaugurated a closer connection between the country and the city, but the motor-bus directly linked the market-town not only with the hamlet but with the isolated dwelling-place itself. A new era of private travel began as the family car became a familiar feature of the English country scene. It is hardly too much to say that it was the advent of the petrol engine which caused the English as a whole to become a mechanically-minded nation.

Old industries revived, new industries were born. The great days of the inn returned, and new hostelries, the luxurious road-house and the humble tea-garden, have been built by the hundred. Few houses are more than a mile or two from a garage and service station. Transport requirements themselves provided employment for an army of mechanics and drivers and officials. The mental clash born of the rapid urbanisation of a population with a long agricultural tradition drove the dweller in cities to mental and physical escape, even for an evening hour, to the countryside of his ancestors. The regulation of road traffic has become one of England's most pressing and difficult problems.

Our ancestors built their towns with no thought of the transport problems of a later age: this is apparent to anyone who has driven through the narrow streets of Colchester or Shrewsbury when they are unusually congested by agricultural and commercial requirements. Modern man has been forced to make his new through roads follow a course which to some extent avoids the towns, and has spent much money in the process. How far the English roads will remain of paramount importance none can say. English roadways may have a formidable competitor in English airways. The air is emptier, subject to fewer physical restraints, provocative of greater speeds than is the land. It is significant that 'air-minded' has taken its place in an Englishman's common vocabulary.

We have gone far in advance of our terms of reference, for the era of air transport has but lately dawned, and its future development is still somewhat obscure. Yet even this may be linked with Culloden, at which point we parted from our story.

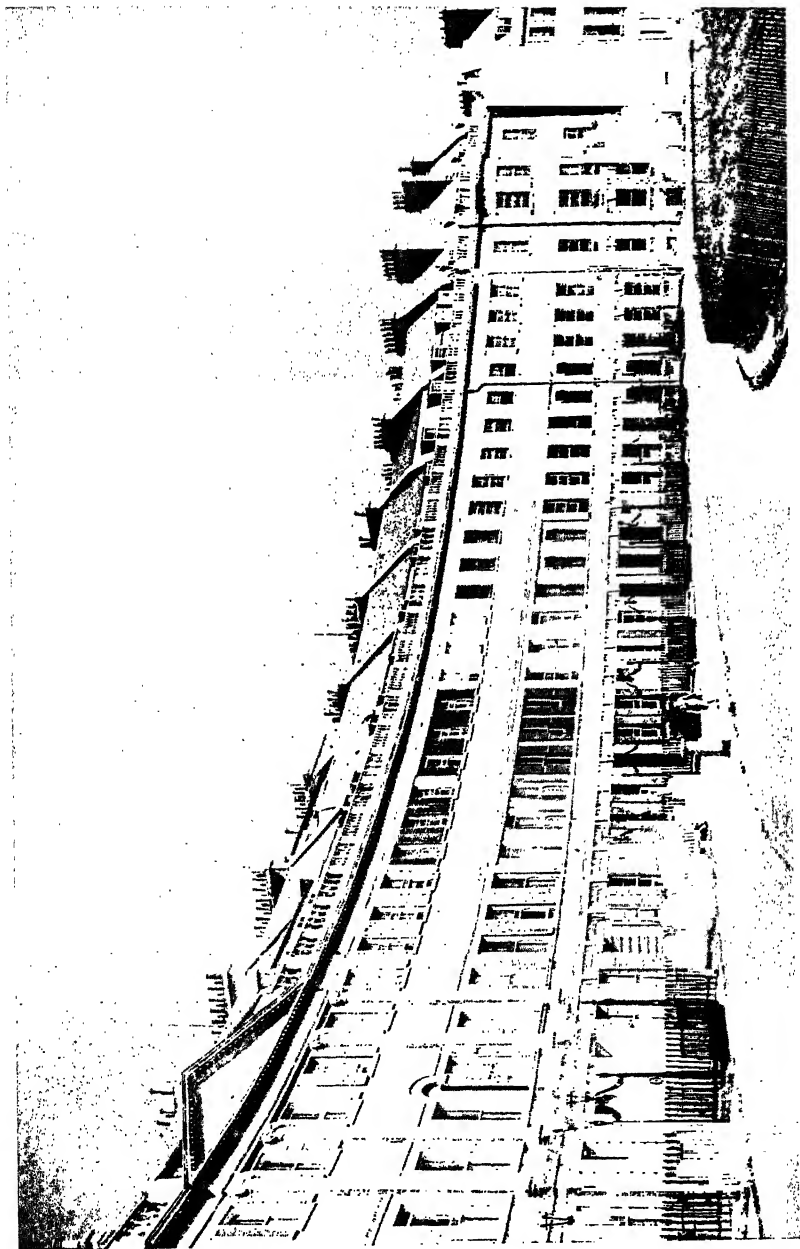
The year 1746 marks more than the security of the House of Hanover on the throne of England, it marks the end of an era. Only two hundred years ago 'there existed within five hundred miles of London an enormous tract of country uninhabited by tribes whose way of life was that of Brian Boru.'¹ The north and west of Scotland was the last portion of the British Isles to come under English rule, and its wild inhabitants came near to upsetting, perhaps temporarily, perhaps unalterably, the ordered balance of life towards which English civilisation had for so long been moving. In the end the rebellion of '45 was so easily defeated that it is as well to pause and consider how near it came to success. Rebel troops, half-naked savages, reached Derby, 130 miles from London. The citizens of the world's chief city fell victim to panic, so much so that there was a run on the Bank. The King of England ordered a ship to be in waiting to take him to Hanover and safety if all should be lost. But there was given the fatal order for retreat, and of that gallant and desperate venture there remains to us nothing but a memory of tragedy and romance, a wealth of legend and song and story and, still to be seen at the *Ship Inn* at Wincle in Cheshire, a Highlander's musket and the newspaper, the *Manchester Magazine*, which its owner left behind in the straggling retreat.

A child may have watched Prince Charles Edward's Highlanders pass through South Lancashire on their way towards London. That same child, by then an octogenarian, may have attended the official opening of the Manchester and Liverpool railway. That evening he may, as old men will, have told a child, his great-grandson, perhaps, of the coming of the clans, and in the evening of his life that child who listened to the tale of the Highland rebellion may have seen Paulhan's biplane, ghostly in the morning mist, at the end of the first flight from London to Manchester.

Such a thought provides a convenient stopping-place.

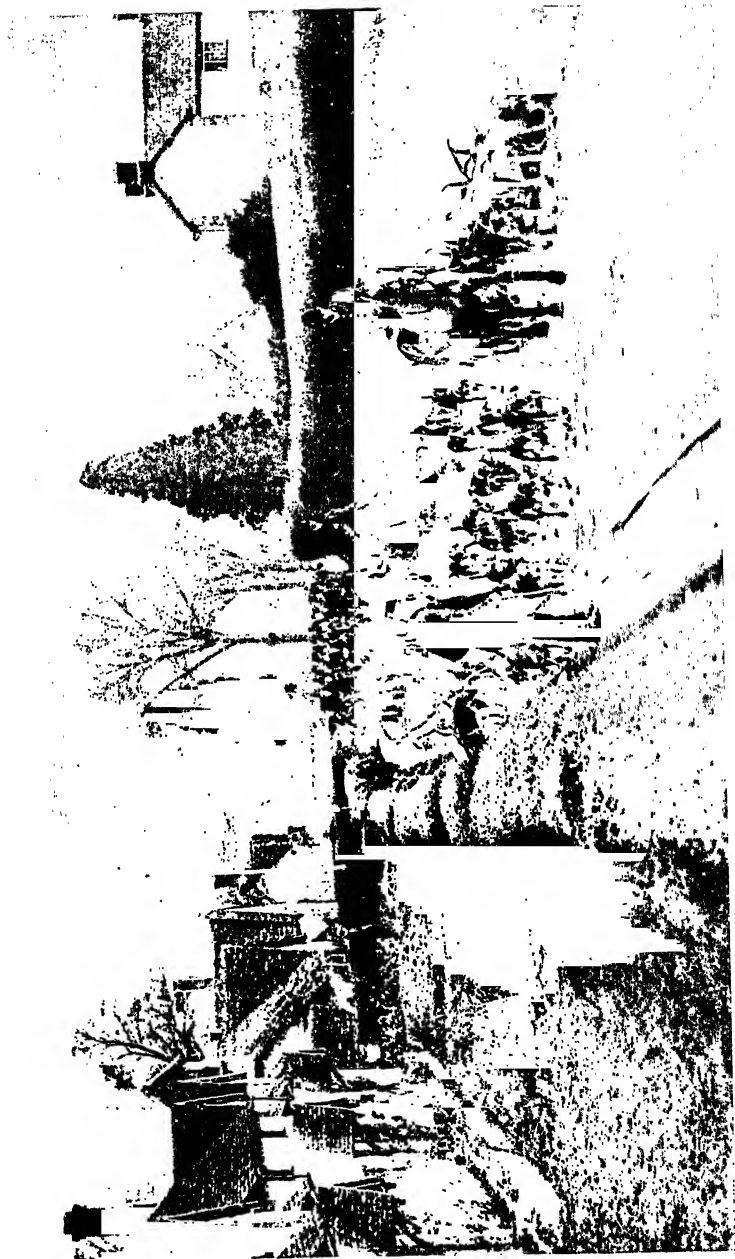
¹ H. V. MORTON; *In Search of Scotland*.

It may be that in years to come a future Office of Works, by whatever title it may then be known, will be found scheduling as an ancient monument the network of railway lines which makes Willesden Junction, or Bush House, or Guy's Hospital, or Piccadilly Circus, or anything which to-day seems to us most familiar, as familiar and unalterable as the castle seemed to one of Stephen's barons, or masts and yards to Blake. A vision of the future, however, can find no place in such a book as this. Our concern has been with what has come down to us from the past: much has been omitted; much has been lightly—too lightly—touched upon; much, from exigencies of space, has had to be presented in a form which, if not necessarily inaccurate, fails to give the whole truth. What has been presented is not so much history as the background of canvas on which history has been painted; and when to the castle and the ox-wain succeed the factory and the steam-engine, it is time to prepare a fresh canvas.



GEORGIAN HOUSES, BATH

“They . . . followed the classical traditions” (p. 224.)



THE BEAUFORT HUNT AT COMPTON BASSETT
"The English tradition of hunting" (p. 206.)

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